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AND HATRED
IN THE BAYOUS

Maclean's

WHAT IF?



Debating The
Use Of Force
If Quebec
Separates

The Land Claims
From Within
By Natives
And Anglos

Parti Québécois Leader
Jacques Parizeau



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CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS/PASSAGES

12 OPENING NOTES

Radio-Québec silences Lucien Bouchard; BNU find creates a symbol of struggle; a canon is found in Ottawa; where is out on the 100; Tim Quyle outgrows his image; Gays and women's corporate projects in a new age; an African peace clause has horridly.

15 COLUMN/BARBARA AMIEL

16 CANADA

Parsons' holding undermines Ottawa's national unity task force; taxpayers may bear the added costs from the deluged program to build 12 new navy frigates.

20 COVER

22 WORLD

An fighting rages in Yugoslavia; Serbs and Croats ask for an peacekeepers; the United States and Britain indict two Libyans for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103.

50 BUSINESS

It has been a phenomenal year for the Canadian bond market; Intertec plans to expand its development system across Canada.

56 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

58 HEALTH

U.S. politicians debate health-care reform while Canada's system suffers.

59 SPORTS

For thousands of Washington, this year's Gay Gap is more than just a football game.

60 MEDIA WATCH/GEORGE BAIN

62 PEOPLE

64 ART

A Calgary retrospective showcases Jack Shadbolt's unique talent.

66 FILMS

Martin Scorsese pulls out all the stops in Cape Fear; Canadians explore El Salvador's agony.

74 BOOKS

Two authors show how rice has become an explosive issue in U.S. politics.

76 FOTHERINGHAM

COVER

WHAT IF QUEBEC SEPARATES?

As the national unity crisis deepens, Canadians are starting to contemplate the sobering logistics of Quebec independence. How much of the province's existing territory could a sovereign Quebec rightly claim? Would Quebec and Canadian governments resort to force to protect their respective interests? Politicians are loath to debate the issue—but their silence may be misguided. —26



WORLD

SHOWDOWN IN DIXIE

Former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke has become a dark new force on the American political scene. The current Republican's campaign for the governorship of Louisiana, against Democratic Edwin Edwards, pitted whites against blacks—and the rally contest may reverberate for years. —32



WORLD

SHEDDING THE PAST

The Soviet Union's Central Asian republics are struggling with the potentially explosive legacy of Communist rule. In Tadzhikistan, pro-democracy reformers and Islamic extremists have united into an opposition coalition to challenge President Rakhmonov Niyozov in a Nov. 26 election. —34



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LETTERS

A LEGACY OF VIOLENCE

It was very disturbing to read about the violence of women in danger and being in fear of men ("Women in fear," *Cover*, Nov. 11). These events in the male equivalent of the stereotype that a right for men to control the world and women—used that physical force is justifiable to maintain that control. As men we cannot excuse the acts of violence, rape and murder in isolated psychopaths, but must understand that these men have taken their own definition of the male equivalent to the extreme. We must realize that regardless of how many centuries this stereotype has existed, it is badly flawed. And we, as men, must correct it.

Norman Ross,
Greene Place, Alta

Thank you for your article on violence against women. I wholeheartedly support any programs that will make the world safer for all people. But you cannot blame a whole class of people for the crimes of a few. The headlines for one article perpetuate "men's rage" of terror against women. Your article suggests that "men have always abused women," but I have never done so. In short, I am outraged by those parts of "Women in fear" whose focus is to make women afraid and suspicious of me just because I'm a man.

M. R. Duenkel,
Hawesbury

Many of the women I know have openly revealed what I consider to be shocking truths about their lives. From what I have heard, rape is as common in factories. As women start to rise up and expose the horrors they have suffered, men must take responsibility and help fight this male plague so that society can begin to heal itself. Men's consent oversteers the problem of violence against women.

Michelle Jui,
Toronto

THE SCHOOL OF HARD KNOCKS

The election of those potential teen governments confirms the belief that Canadians are now teenagers ("New Democrats as a rule," *Cover*, Nov. 4). The disillusionment with leftist governments in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and, most recently, Sweden is mostly the result of disastrous socialist policies. Canadians do not seem to get the message—or blindly choose to accept it—as at least those politicians will have to endure four or five years of a learning experience before they come to their senses.

G. E. Andrews,
Calgary



Protesters for Jennifer Jones "plague"

THE UNION AGENDA

Diane Francis would have us believe that labor unions dominate the NDP ("Unions: the new rich and privileged," *Columbia*, Nov. 4). Does she not realize that the federal New Democratic Party receives only 12 per cent of

its total revenue from labor unions? She is correct when she says that large corporations donate generously to the Liberals and Conservatives, but not to the NDP. In fact, nearly 80 per cent of the party's funds come from personal contributions by farmers, small-business people, professionals, laborers, retirees and others. Thus, the party is not beholden to large multinational corporate like the other parties, nor are they beholden to the unions.

J. M. Crowder,
Saskatoon

Diane Francis's column expresses very well some of my fears about the trend to increased power and influence of big unions. What particularly frightens me is that union traditions are based on conflict, violence and defiance of the law. While I agree that unions of some sort are needed to speak for workers, big unions are now too powerful to be grouped with marginal societies. They should be taxed and subject to laws the same as other big corporations. And the payment of union dues should be optional.

Bob Roddy,
Vancouver

Let's stop to consider: Peter says some unions and unions support some NDP. Let's see the Union's support for the NDP. Let's see the Union's support for the NDP. Let's see the Union's support for the NDP.

PASSAGES

DEED: Paul-Emile Cardinal Léger, 57, after a battle with respiratory problems, in Montreal. At the age of 37, Léger abandoned his plans to become a butcher or a mechanic to become a Roman Catholic priest. Twelve years later, he founded a monastery in Japan, and in 1950 he was named archbishop of Montreal—the oldest position in the Catholic church in Canada's largest diocese. In 1953, Pope Pius XII named Léger a cardinal, the church's second-highest rank. But after 16 years, during which he participated in the 1962-1965 Second Vatican Council, Léger left Montreal to work with widows in Cameroon. After his return to Canada in 1979, he devoted his life to raising money for the Third World.



Archbishop Léger

DEED: Dr. Robert McClure, 90, of pancreatic cancer, at St. Michael's Health Science Centre in Toronto. The son of a Presbyterian missionary, McClure was a missionary surgeon in generalist surgery. He was in 1958 became the first lay member of the United Church. At the end of his three-year term, McClure was elected as a companion of the Order of Canada.

DEED: Ian Galt, Robert McCall, 39, after a lengthy battle with AIDS-related diseases, including brain cancer, at his home in Toronto. McCall and his partner, Tracy Wilson, were seven-time Canadian ice-hockey champions. They won the bronze medal at the Calgary Olympics in 1988.

RELEASED: Walter Gretzky, 58, from Hamilton General Hospital, following brain

surgery. The father of superstar hockey player Wayne Gretzky suffered a brain aneurysm, a bulge in a weak spot along an artery wall, on Oct. 18, and with continued his recovery at a rehabilitation centre.

DEED: British doctor Tony Richardson, 63, of AIDS-related complications, in Los Angeles. Richardson, who was once married to actress Vanessa Redgrave, was an Academy Award in 1962 for his film *Tom Jones*. Among his other movies are *A Taste of Honey* and *Love Bug in Anger*.

HARRIED: Actor Malcolm McDowell, 44, and actor Kelly Ruder, 36, in Melrose, Calif. The star of such films as *A Clockwork Orange* and *Wings of the Diamond* and Ruder several years ago on a Southern California beach.

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LETTERS

A KNOCK AT THE ROYALS

As Dan Fotheringham's New 4 column, "Going to the dogs with the royals," was refreshing and right on the mark, sadly, many Canadians do not have a clue when it comes to constitutional matters, or even to the date of their local election. But they are able to remember the color of every button on Princess Diana's jacket. I would rather watch paint dry.

Heather MacLeod,
Toronto

Allen Fotheringham's touting of the British royals ("Canadian wonders") and the Canadian public ("one day Canada... will grow up") is unacceptable. Opposing the attacks everyone knows follow journalists to the homes of Canadian politicians for paying attention to the royals, and yet does exactly the same. Canada should have "a substantial family of public relations experts" to replace the monarchy! While they are at it, they can replace Father Christmas and the Tooth Fairy.

Bobby Tucker,
Calgary

BITTER MEDICINE

Bizarre Asian's poisons—a collection of conservative clichés—reached new depths of shallowness in "The nose of women's tennis" (Column Oct. 28). The identification of oneself as an addict or victim is but a first step in constructive therapy. One has only oneself to blame for staying there. "Responsibility for his or her behavior" and helping others, as Asian states, are precisely the goals of such therapies. And as for "the very notion of character [being] burned," it's evident burned skin can be replaced by skin substitutes or skin grafts. Therapy has given many the tools to form their identity—it is an individual's responsibility to use them. Asian should take her own advice "expand [your] intellectual horizons to the outer world."

Roger Dickinson,
Mississauga

"The nose of women's tennis" clearly summarizes the feelings of women like myself who have used our own inner resources to change our lives. We are confused and depressed by the whimsy of women who want society to solve their problems for them. Previously, women demanded support and help from their families. Now, they are demanding the same from society as a whole. Perhaps they should take a long, hard look at the discrepancy between their words and their actions and strive to come to grips with the support role they have in creating a kinder and gentler society.

Wendy Walker,
Cuckoo's Nest

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OPENING NOTES

Doonesbury casts Dan Quayle as a druggie, Eddie Murphy attracts royalty, and Lucien Bouchard speaks out

TELEVISED EXPERTISE

Montreal's *Le Devoir* newspaper has alleged that Radio-Québec, the province's publicly funded television network, dropped a taped interview with Lucien Bouchard from its news program *Nouvel-Horizon* because of pressure from External Affairs Minister Manique Landry. The program, which deals with Third World issues, was about this week's francophone summit in Paris. In the 1980s, Bouchard, now leader of the separatist Bloc Québécois, served as Canada's ambassador to France and helped organize previous francophone summits. The Nov. 15 article in *Le Devoir* says that Landry met with Radio-Québec officials in October and reminded them that the program received a federal grant of \$75,000. The paper says that she also expressed the view that Bouchard was not qualified to comment on this year's summit. Both Landry's press secretary and network officials denied the allegations. But Bouchard says that he is convinced pressure was applied. Said Bouchard: "I think it's a political manipulation of information."

Bouchard off the air and on the record



CHRISTOPHER YOUNG

A sculpture imitating life

Vancouver artist Bill Reid says that his five-foot bronze sculpture at the Canadian Embassy in Washington symbolizes "the struggle of humanity and the environment." And it does so—in a more ways than one. The original budget for *The Spirit of Canada* Grant, which Toronto-based Nations Canada Ltd. commissioned in 1987, was \$375,000. In 1988, the bill climbed to \$1.3 million (among other things, *The Spirit* received a \$30,000 bid). More recently, Nations paid an additional \$250,000 so that Reid could finally complete his project. Last week, *The Spirit* began its arduous journey by truck from Beacon, N.Y., to Washington

Man Sara Friedman. "I hope that what will dominate is not the difficulty but the importance of the work."



Reid struggling with a spirit case as bronze

JUMPING THE NOONDAY GUN

Many Ottawa members who have been late for lunch since the National Capital Commission altered the noonday gun last April to save money may soon be back on schedule. Sources here told Maclean's that "interested" federal officials have agreed to reverse the use of the 184-year-old cannon, an artifact from the Crimean War, by sharing the \$20,000 annual operating cost with the NCC. NCC spokesman Heather Bradley, who declined to divulge details, concedes: "As an amendment should be made in the new year."

Winning and dining in the capital

Movers and shakers in Ottawa have made the capital's *Plaza Cafe* the place for lunch. The 80-seat restaurant, located between the U.S. Embassy and the Prime Minister's Office, has been quietly attracting top government bureaucrats and lobbyists since it opened in January. Its regular clientele includes such senior Liberal MPs as Herb Gray and Lloyd Axworthy. Plaza's owner Stanley Litwak told Maclean's: "It's a place where people can network." He adds: "We know who they are when they come in, but we don't make a big deal about it, and neither do they. That's probably why they like it."

A CONTROVERSIAL CARTOON

The *Indianapolis Star*, Dan Quayle's hometown newspaper, which has editorial granddaddy Eugene C. Pulliam, founded, ran the *Doonesbury* cartoon series last week despite the fact that it associated the vice-president with a scandal in the 1990s. But such prominent American newspapers as *The Chicago Tribune* and *The Atlanta Journal* & *Constitution* have declined to carry the series. Some commentators have criticized Gerry Trudeau for his own story line. It involves a clerk at the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency

who gives a reporter details of a government investigation into Quayle's alleged drug purchases. On the 1980s, drug dealer Charles Parker explained Quayle, but later retracted his accusation. Last week, Maclean's Quayle lashed out against the strip, saying it was part of a "subliminal" media campaign against her husband. Frank Caperton, managing editor of *The Indianapolis Star*, conceded that Trudeau's allegations are not based on proven fact. He told Maclean's: "The information in *Doonesbury* had come to us as a news story, we would have reported it because it was not adequately sourced." But Caperton added: "There is room for hyperbole here."



Dan, drugs and the vice-president



Maclean's lashed out

TAKING OFFENCE AT THE NAKED TRUTH

A storm of controversy has erupted at Pennsylvania State University after officials there removed a reproduction of an 1820 painting of a nude woman from a classroom because they said it constituted a form of sexual harassment. The offending prior to *The Naked Woman*, by the Spanish painter Goya (who died in 1828), came down last week after a female professor lodged a complaint with the university's Union Committee for Women. But James Ford, president of the Student Government Association, criticized the decision, saying that it amounted to "judicious censorship." He added: "I find it hypocritical that the university strives for cultural diversity and then removes culture from its classrooms. It's a dangerous precedent to set—what next?"

Subliminal tubing

A manufacturer of plastic tubing in Willow Grove, Pa., 20 km north of Philadelphia, has begun a campaign to clear up



MacLean's in spirit only

confusion about its name. Company officials say that they do not want potential customers identifying NewAge Industries Inc. with the trendy New Age movement. As a result, the 40-year-old firm has issued new releases and printed disclosures on all company literature to discourage confusion from thinking that "maybe Shirley MacLean is president."

Only in Hollywood

An *Amos* prize from the Ivory Coast, Ousou Ousou Adenre Maclean, has proved himself. Yet he's still in chasing outbidding of comedian Eddie Murphy's 1985 blockbuster movie, *Coming to America*. Maclean controls that the movie, which has grossed \$400 million so far, is based on his life, and he is using Murphy and Paramount Pictures. The prize claims that he went to America 38 years ago in search of a bride—just like Murphy's character in *Coming to America*—and then made about it in his unpublished screenplay, *Toto The African Prince*. Last year, Maclean successfully used Paramount for a reported \$300,000 plus a share of the profits after he claimed that the movie was based on an idea of his. Paramount lawyer Laurel Sobel dismissed the prize's claims. He told Maclean's: "It's the only movie I know of where so many people claim to have written it."

Maclean's: whose story is it saying?



CHRISTOPHER YOUNG

Barbara Amiel, the secret of Operator 18, the world through Canadian eyes and a quartz alarm clock. An interesting story.

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COLUMN



Comforting thoughts for troubled times

BY BARBARA AMIEL

Elizabeth Taylor once remarked that she was only no different from anyone else, except that she preferred to enjoy the sun the best rather than the others with them. I thought that this was an elegant defence of a somewhat vulgar lifestyle and have used the thought myself to explain my own record of sequential misadventure.

Nifty though the thought may be, it affords small comfort on one night. On the other hand, the publication of George Jonas's new collection of essays, *Politically Incorrect*, cheers me up immensely.

Jonas, a former husband of mine, thanks the 14 magazine and newspaper editors who originally commissioned his essays that are reprinted in this book. Among them are former Maclean's editor Peter C. Newman, former Saturday Night editor Robert Pallot, Toronto Star editor John Dunning and Toronto Life's Henryk Wilk.

But I'm pleased to note that I commissioned some of Jonas's very best work when I was editor of The Toronto Star from 1983 to 1985, long after my marriage to Jonas was over. I lost a husband, but Canada gained a tireless social and political commentator.

Given the current health of the Canadian psyche and mind, I suppose Canada has the greatest need.

The thoughts in *Politically Incorrect* have also occupied my own work for the past 20 years and, frankly, I only wish that they had been quite as concise and well-presented in my own columns. There is a specific writing on the table subject, since the entire book is a sequence of how only one set of accomplished news has been "politically correct" in Canada, and how wrong those views are. Jonas has not one "correct" view in his head, which makes him a very much-needed thinking person, to say the least.

Indeed, during Canadiana's second year, I published a copy of *Politically Incorrect* into his or her Christmas stocking.

'When a nation feels compelled to specially legislate liberty and justice, there is a chance that it has neither'

They embrace a wide spectrum, from art to politics. What distinguishes the collection is the wit and the humor that complements Jonas's considerable intellectual talent. His argumentative style characterizes his manner lightning every issue that has cropped up in the headlines over the past 20 years.

Some examples: On states-of-war types: "Righting the perceived wrongs of nations has become a corner stone, like democracy."

On news coverage of tyranny: "Totalitarianism provides few photo opportunities."

On moral relativism: "Chest beds tolerance for sinners, modern liberals have a tolerance for sin."

On AIDS: "The cause of the disease is a virus—but the cause of the epidemic is a lifestyle."

On the Canadian Bill of Rights: "When a nation feels compelled to specially legislate liberty and justice, there is a chance that it has neither."

On Bill C-54 (the justice media bill), the Conservative government's controversial attempt to legislate pornography in 1987: "Before there is any bad news here, there's usually a hilarious climate."

On affirmative action: "Most intellectual debates on affirmative action are nothing but attempts to reconcile liberal self-images with liberal social positions."

The tradition in which Jonas works is handed on to readers in Europe. There, one finds a wide choice of extremely literary and articulate thinkers such as France's Raymond Aron or England's Paul Johnson—with a very different point of view from the left-liberal tradition that dominates most Canadian writing. Just across the Canadian border, the United States has a complicity of clever writers in this tradition: Allan Ross, Edward Jay Ritten, George F. Will, James O. Wilson, Norman and Judge Podhoretz, Charles Krauthammer, who graduated from McGill University in Montreal, and Suzanne Garment, to name only a few.

Canada has the occasional example, most often seen as a literary letter to the editor from an academic. But most alternative voices in Canada operate only on the level of popular newspaper columns such as those by The Toronto Star's Robert Macdonald or, at its very best, by Peter Worthington. This is a relatively non-intellectual or even anti-intellectual journalism. The few different voices we had, and the promising young generation of Canadians, including David Johnston and the group at Canada's The Advertiser, and this country, were isolated or strictly ignored by the Canadian arts-and-letters community.

Jonas is too good to ignore. I suspect many Canadians share his sentiments on issues ranging from social harassment to the reunification of Germany, but the decade important to *Politically Incorrect* is this: it develops the intellectual arguments that he based many of the corrections held by ordinary people.

The essays give readers the historical and social weapons they need to fight the rampant wisdom of the "wisdom" in the media and government. This is not a book that left liberals have made people feel that the conservative cartoonists they hold are absurd and nothing more than the deplorable machines of industry. Down this road lies the self-righted and the right that gripped the United States in the 1970s.

The grip of the politically correct view on the Canadian arts-and-letters has had an undeniable side effect. Our arts and intellectual communities have long been infected by the deadly mix of neo-Marxism and neo-liberalism. It's not that we're not at the heart of political correctness thought. This has condensed Canadian whose interests are in matters of the spirit and the mind to mix with the politically correct crowd—or be labelled to the company of the intellectually inferior, the genuine radicals.

Jonas gives me hope. He knows about opera, poetry, history and philosophy—and he also knows that "three-quarters of everything published" demands have been being or selling in the last 15 years ranges from the business to the home.

Most importantly, he reminds us that common sense is not the exclusive preserve of politicians and bureaucrats, a warm thought in the long winter under our noses.

A HIGH-STAKES GAMBLE

**JOB CLARK UNVEILS
A NEW STRATEGY
AFTER PARTISAN
POLITICS PARALYSE
THE NATIONAL
UNITY TASK FORCE**

Disagreements, petty bickering, political posturing and, thus, a glimmer of hope—all contributed to the roller-coaster saga of the Conservative government's troubled unity committee last week. Charged with holding public hearings on the government's constitutional proposals, the committee ground to a halt after an embarrassingly ill-attended visit to Montreal from Nov. 4 to Nov. 6. Liberals, New Democrats and the governing Conservatives accused one another of playing political games—at the expense of the constitutional reform process. At the eye of the storm, committee co-chairman and Winnipeg Tory MP Donnelly Dubé, blamed by the opposition for many of the 30-member committee's problems. The opposition—especially the Liberals—declared that they would boycott the committee if Dubé remained in place, while *Conservative Affairs* Minister Joe Clark stood firm and refused to accept his offer of resignation. But at week's end, Clark noticeably announced that the differences may now be reconciled. Still the minister: "I think we may be in a situation where we can get back on track."

Clark's optimism found few echoes among other politicians. Declared Liberal MP and opposition member André Ouellet: "Frankly, it is an irreparable situation." And, in fact, if the committee does survive, it may operate under far different circumstances. Clark proposed last week that it abandon its attempts at town-hall meetings and instead concentrate on meeting with experts and provincial politicians. Con-

sult public input, he said, will be achieved by holding at least five, and perhaps six, constitutional conferences—with subjects determined along the lines of Ottawa's plan for constitutional renewal. Those conferences would clearly afford individual Canadians less opportunity to speak out on constitutional issues than the original committee approach. But, Clark declared, "I thought it was not so much them when it came to a conference—they were to know that the process is open, so that organizations with which they are associated have a right to change the proposals."

In fact, the explosion of the parliamentary committee and the widespread public disgust with the stalled constitutional issue may mark a swing in Canadian public opinion. Even since the demise of the Meech Lake accord in June, 1990, Canadians have dissented to be thoroughly convinced and to have a greater voice in public affairs. The Reform Party of Canada gained legislative parity through a platform calling for more referendums and the ability to recall MPs who clashed with their constituents. And the Tories came out this fall—fearing—well, not to acquire a majority in public support—by putting the stress of consultation on their governing style.

But politicians may no longer be able to win popularity through a stated commitment to consult. In October, when International Trade Minister Michael Wilson unveiled a national consultation process on ways to improve Canada's competitiveness, business and labor leaders heavily criticized him for refusing to take concrete action. And last week, Clark acknowledged that the unity committee's problems, what some called, in part, to be a lack of leadership. But Clark, "I think public attitudes about consultation have changed strongly in the



last six months, and we happen to have been caught in the middle of that. Six months ago, everyone was demanding all sorts of consultation. People are now more wary."

Without proposal to hold a series of constitutional conferences, Clark clearly hopes to regain control over the constitutional change process. As outlined by the minister, the conferences, with the first likely to be convened before Christmas, would be held in different regions of Canada and would likely be co-sponsored by both think-tanks as the C.D. Howe Institute and the Canada West Foundation. Each would deal with a particular constitutional topic. The subjects what it means to be Canadian and how Quebec fits into the federation, how anti-intellectual such as the Senate should be modernized, how to strengthen the economic union, how powers should be divided between the federal and provincial governments, and what sort of self-government should be negotiated for aboriginal groups. And, Clark said, he was open to the idea of covering a socio- and race—generalized—conflict on national policy.



Clark: 'an open process'

Dubé (second from left) at committee hearing; petty politics and disagreement

Other criticisms at committee building sponsored by various organizations across Canada have yielded positive results. Last June, Montreal saw a meeting of 12 Canadians with vastly differing political views to discuss the future of Canada. In the end, after three days of intensive and often emotional discussions overseen by conflict-management specialists, they agreed on several findings: a common vision for a renewed Canada. And last month, the University of Ottawa, Carleton University and Dalhousie University, a tri-city group, sponsored a four-day conference called Towards 2000: A Changing Canada. More than 250 Canadians gathered to discuss their hopes about the Constitution. San University of Ottawa political science professor John Tremblé, one of the organizers, "Many of them felt a lack of confidence in talking about some things, but they were knowing what they thought about their country." In the end, the participants also managed to produce a document outlining the priorities for a renewed nation.

Clark's new approach could also be of political benefit to the Tories. By limiting public access to the government, one could see the major public controversy by the unity committee—in hearings were consistently delayed by expressions of bad hostility towards the Tories. Noted C. E. S. Fries, a political scientist at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.: "The risk is consultation is that you open it up for everybody with a torch on

their torch and all you get is divisive elements, not a consensus."

Nevertheless, though, was most evident within the unity committee itself as the names of future leaders to walk over its proceedings. The opposition parties, led by the Liberals, accused their rights on Dubé—and indirectly on Clark. In a move condemned as blatant partisanship by many observers, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien told his party's future participation on the committee to Dubé's record. Last week, even Liberal members expressed their dismay at their party's stance—while many other observers had nothing but criticism for Chrétien's stand. And previous Fries, "I see nothing in what the Liberal leadership has said that leads me to believe in their commitment to the process."

For co-chairman Dubé, meanwhile, her political baptism by fire has left her shaken. She quickly undertook her committee duties in September with an enthusiasm and passion that became increasingly chilly as the committee encountered a hostile public—and as internal divisions widened and the personal attacks increased. "It is like standing alone on a mountaintop and having people throw hot and cold water at you," she told Maclean's. And at week's end, with the committee's future still in doubt, the political specter may have tarnished more than one career.

SANCY WOOD in Ottawa

CONVULSIVE SHOOTINGS

Police shootings of two young black men increased tensions between the police forces and the black communities in Canada's two largest cities. In Toronto, police continued to investigate the Nov. 9 shooting of unarmed Jonathan Howell, 22, who remains in serious condition from a gunshot wound to the head, after police confronted three men looting, video equipment into a car. In Montreal, Sergeant Seymour Fletcher, 36, died following a struggle with police as they tried to apprehend him on charges of drug possession and trafficking. Police spokespersons claimed that Fletcher shot himself, but local black activists said that they did not believe the official version of events.

A NEW NORTHERN LEADER

Natla Coomayee, 31, a latest opinion poll winner in British Columbia who grew up with 11 siblings as a teenager's child in the Marjorie River District, is the new government leader in the Northwest Territories. The 24 members of the Territorial legislative assembly, which is elected on a proportional basis, chose Coomayee over one other main candidate.

A SOLDIER PLEASES GUILTY

Canadian soldier Eric Schmechler, 21, of Montreal, pleaded guilty to assault with intent to murder and illegal use of a firearm during a shooting with Maryland state troopers last June. The shooting followed an argument between the soldier's mother and fellow soldier Donald Nelson, 26, of Surrey, B.C., both of whom have charges related to the May 30 shooting of a Toronto police officer. Nelson is scheduled to go on trial next month for his part in the Maryland shooting.

A LAW-AND-ORDER MYSTERY

After running a strong law-and-order campaign that also stressed the need for economic renewal, Jack Burrows, 67, became Ontario's first female member of Parliament, a former police constable who was unopposed for the Liberals in the 1984 federal election, defeated her only serious rival, NDP candidate Jack Layton, by an almost 2-to-1 margin.

MURDER ON THE STREET

Federal government lawyer Patricia Allen, 33, died after being struck by a crossbow bolt in the chest on a downtown Ottawa street. Police later charged Al-Gor's estranged husband, Colin McGregor, 36, with first-degree murder. The killing renewed calls by the Canadian Police Association for restricting the sale of crossbows.



CANADA

Boats that may not float

Canada's \$9.3-billion frigate program is under siege

It is longer than a football field, wider than a dead pond to more than 30 m by 6 within five minutes and carries enough electronics and weaponry to hunt down and destroy almost any military target. Maclean's has never before produced a warship like HMS *Halifax*, the first of 16 patrol frigates being built as part of the largest military construction contract in Canadian history. But so far, the vessel, which last week was undergoing a routine maintenance check at Saint John, N.B., has been more stressful for its contractor, delays and design problems that for its state-of-the-art technology. Now, Maclean's has learned through a federal review/investigation approach that delays on delivering the first three ships led Ottawa to withhold \$9.3 million in payments to the program's lead contractor, Saint John Shipbuilding Ltd., owned by New Brunswick's powerful Irving family.

Conservative Dennis Kelly, who oversees the Canadian navy's \$9.3-billion frigate program, says that the criticism surrounding the

program is exaggerated. He adds that it is a "classic case of a low problem overshadowing a remarkable achievement." Still, with the program troubled by cost overruns and a bitter legal battle between two of the main contractors, its difficulties are far from over. The first six frigates are already more than two years behind schedule. At the same time, Saint John Shipbuilding and Quebec City-based Mtl. Group Ltd., which has a subcontract to build three frigates, have launched a series of suits and counter-suits against each other because of conflicts over the projects. The legal battle will likely keep lawyers for the two companies engaged in court well into the next century.

But in the end, Canadian taxpayers may bear any added costs from the chaos: more of the 14-year-old program. For one thing, Maclean's has learned that Saint John Shipbuilding is trying to renegotiate provisions in its contract with Ottawa to get the federal government to assume responsibility for any cost overruns incurred by subcontractor Mtl. Overruns related to the frigate program forced the

HMS *Halifax*: a series of costly setbacks for a state-of-the-art ship

Quebec subcontractor to the brink of bankruptcy in July, but it was saved by a \$300-million Quebec and federal government rescue package. In that case, federal officials privately say that their hands were forced. But one senior bureaucrat, "What would people say if we ended up with three unfinished ships? There wasn't any choice."

Despite the setbacks, the key participants in the program are optimistic that it will eventually be a success. Saint John Shipbuilding chairman James Irving: "Remember that this program was started from scratch. We have met that challenge in Canada and that HMS *Halifax* is a tribute to the efforts made by all concerned." In fact, both Irving and the armed forces' Irving publicly insist that the project will ultimately meet its budget.

But more than half the total \$9.3-billion budget has already been spent—and only the *Halifax*, the prototype for the 11 other ships, has been delivered. The *Halifax* took four years to build, was delivered two years late, and produced unexplained excessive noise—which could complicate its primary assignment of tracking submarines—and has problems with its weapons armament. Even so, officials claim that the cost per vessel will fall dramatically as more ships are delivered. Saint Kelly: "The project will be on schedule and on budget by the time the 11th ship is being built."

Most military experts predicted at the outset

that the program would face problems. For one thing, so Canada's shipyard had launched a warship since 1901. Politics also complicated the undertaking. When the defense department ordered an actual ship in 1983, it awarded the contract to Saint John Shipbuilding, but only after the company agreed to subcontract construction of three ships to Versatile Industries of Montreal to provide work for Quebec shipyard employees. Mtl., which is 65 per cent owned by the Quebec government, became a player four years later when it took over that \$300-million subcontract. The same year, the government of Brian Mulroney ordered an additional six frigates, to be built by the Irving.

For its part, Saint John, whose shipyard employs 3,500 people on the project, has encountered a steep learning curve. In cooperation with industrialists prior to buying the land for the facility in 1987, the company bought the latest ship-building equipment and hired engineering consultants from around the world. Even with that expertise, the project turned out to be more complex than anticipated. Tons of thousands of changes had to be made to the ship's design. As well, Saint John executives acknowledge that they made mistakes, such as among the first shipment of steel outside—where it rusted.

But the Irving company also blamed its subcontractors for delays. Locked into fixed-price agreements, a number of those companies lost all their profits as costs soared. Indeed, two companies, Kuehne, Del-Suisse Lehigh Industries Ltd. and Wagner Engineering Ltd. of Vancouver, declared bankruptcy largely as a result of their involvement in the frigate project. Meanwhile, in 1988, Saint John cancelled a \$60-million subcontract with Mtl. Systems Engineering Inc., Mtl.'s Ottawa-based engineering subsidiary, to design the frigates. That action led Mtl. to launch a \$30-million suit against Saint John, which replied with a \$100-million counter-suit.

But relations between Saint John and Mtl. seemed to worsen as the first ship fell further behind schedule. By the end of 1989, Mtl.'s lawyers exceeded an award by \$250 million—likely, Mtl. executives say, because of spending costs resulting from thousands of design changes demanded by Saint John. The Irving company responded to the delays in June, 1990, by launching a \$1.7-billion suit against Mtl. and some of its affiliated companies. The suit claimed that Mtl.'s failure to provide the necessary resources to its shipyard had put the frigate subcontract behind schedule and \$340 million over budget. Saint John's lawyers asked the courts to disavow Mtl.'s lawsuit; in turn, said Saint John, for unspecified reasons, claiming that the New Brunswick company had breached its contract by changing the design of the ship's hull and by diverting project equipment and material late.

Meanwhile, as the myriad lawsuits remain in protracted litigation, construction of the ships has fallen increasingly behind. In September, 1990, Saint John announced a further six-week delay in completing the *Halifax*, then already 16 months late. Under a provision in the original 1983 contract, Ottawa assessed a \$2.5-million penalty against Saint John for that setback—later adding \$5.4 million in penalties when the Vancouver and Vals de Quebec were not delivered to the navy on time. Both ships are now scheduled for 1992 launches, while six others are currently under construction.

All the same time, the conflict between Saint John and Mtl. evolved a classic. In June, Irving officials informed the Quebec yard that its subcontract had been cancelled, claiming that



Saint John Shipbuilding site: taxpayers may pay for any added cost overruns

Mtl. simply did not have the funds to finish construction. That action threatened the jobs of 1,500 Mtl. employees. But the following week, Mtl. won a temporary court injunction preventing Saint John from liquidating the contract. The injunction has been extended a series of times and now stands until January, 1992. And on July 11, in the same week that the federal government announced a cap on federal spending, Ottawa and the Quebec government announced that they were going to Mtl. \$263 million to cover interest cost overruns. "Two of the three frigates that Mtl. is involved in half-finished, while one is just under way."

In the future, Ottawa may have to cover more of Mtl.'s costs. Last summer, representatives from Saint John launched negotiations with Mtl. and Ottawa to draft a new arrangement, saying that the lead contractor would not be liable for Mtl.'s cost overruns. Saint John

has proposed an arrangement where Mtl. would have a contract directly with Ottawa, rather than a subcontract under Saint John.

Honourable federal officials privately fear that if they do not agree to Saint John's terms, the federal government may become the target of a legal challenge by that company seeking compensation for any future cost overruns incurred by Mtl. Indeed, under a federal access-to-information request, Maclean's discovered that even as the major players in the program are negotiating, the federal supply and services department has ordered dozens of bureaucrats to assemble about two million pages of documents to prepare a potential legal defense. "We are compiling a complete system for Canadian Frigate Program documents to

help us address any claims from Saint John Shipbuilding," confirmed Steven Crawford, a spokesman for the department.

Now, although James Irving insists that his company will still make money on the project, officials who have worked closely with Saint John privately say that it has only a slim chance of turning a profit. Moreover, the outlook for the shipbuilding industry is not promising. With the global industry severely depressed, Canadian shipyards now suffer from nearly 50-per-cent excess capacity. Indeed, neither Saint John nor Mtl. has any big, new contracts to keep their yards busy when the frigate contracts are finally completed. But for now, just achieving that goal—on-time and on budget—would be a remarkable achievement.

JOHN DUMORT is *Halifax* with KEN BUREY and GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

What If Quebec Separates?

Politicians are shying away from a big issue: the potential battle over dividing up Quebec

In police political circles, it is the topic that dare not speak its name. In federal and provincial capitals, most politicians simply refuse to consider what the boundaries of a seceding Quebec should be. At issue is the ownership of a glorious swath of land, stretching from Lapland's Blason Street to the Eastern Townships, where the farms are often round become legend holds that the devil hides in bare forests, from the Saguenay Fjord settlements of James Bay to the wild North Atlantic where the 18th-century mariner Sir Martin Frobisher once looked for a passage to the riches of Asia. At stake is the wealth of that land and its resources, the future of its disparate peoples and its priceless traditions of strength and enduring civility. Perhaps Canada's silent leaders realize that the very mention of the topic breaks the bonds of that civility. But their silence has largely left the explosive issue to the consideration of the disinterested and the unthinking.

The few leaders who have the courage to confront the issue believe that the entire nation should end—for the sake of the nation. Across Southern and Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union, ethnic hatreds are shredding the social fabric and blurring official boundaries. In Yugoslavia, ethnic enclaves have fired a vicious civil war, killing hundreds of people and despoiling the medieval part of Belgrade. Such hatreds do not run as high in Canada. But there are many people—aboriginals, French-Canadians, anglophone Quebecers and those outside of the province—who have a stake in the landscape of Quebec (page 22). Vice-minister of Status of Women and Minister of the Environment, for instance, would happen if Quebec seceded—and its native people did not choose to stay with Quebec. "What whose sovereignty do we side?" she asked. "We cannot blindly pretend that France is not part of the Quebec tradition."

In costly national terms, Canadians should discuss who owns what if Quebec separates. A historical examination will help to understand why boundaries were drawn and why peoples gathered (page 26). It may throw light on why claims are made and why positions clash. That process could lead the nation, or if might at least ensure that future boundaries are drawn—and claims are settled—on peace. There are those who dispute that approach. Parti Québécois leader Jacques Parizeau, for one, seized U.S. officials last week that separatism would occur

inevitably—and peacefully. Coarctated University of Toronto history professor Desmond Morton "It is a smorgasbord of history to believe that countries are torn up easily or without a tremendous risk of tragic conflict. Conceding that fact because we do not want to alarm the children is both deceptive—and contemptuous to the people of this country."

The first lesson of history is that its mistakes are easily repeated. The second is that struggling people are also often the disoriented. Like other aboriginal groups across Canada, Quebec's nine aboriginal nations have fought hard for recognition of their rights. In 1996, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that a 130-year-old agreement between the Huron and the Crown constituted a treaty between nations—and that aboriginals in the Laurentian Indian reserve near Quebec City still held the right to camp and to make fires in Jacques Cartier provincial park. In light of their troubled past, it is only natural for nations to ask if an independent Quebec would also recognize such aboriginal and treaty rights. It is only a small step further to the native peoples' assertion that they have outstanding claims, throughout the province, to two-thirds of the landmass.

French-Canadians, in turn, have only observed the erosion of their cultural status. In 1867, they viewed themselves as a bounding nation of Canada. Quebec proudly extended constitutionally guaranteed rights to its English-language minority. But through the decades, comparative minority rights were gradually withdrawn or withheld from bilingual French-speakers.

Roman Catholic peoples another province. As a result, many Quebecers feel that the boundaries of their province represent the boundaries of French Canada. From that belief, it is only a small step to the assertion that an independent Quebec should secure its identity—and reclaim its rich heritage of Labrador from Newfoundland English-Canadians, including anglophone Quebecers, who have provinces. When Parliament added the territory of northern Quebec in 1912, it was partly to compensate for the erosion of minority francophone rights in Western Canada. That included the business of the province; it added rich minerals and mining interests. It is only natural that many English-Canadians ask why many Quebecers consider that an independent Quebec would still own Quebec. It is only a small step from that question to the assertion that Parliament must take back Quebec from a seceding Quebec. Together, these small steps could lead into an abyss.

But if the past gives cause for concern, it also gives reason for comfort. Throughout Canadian history, it is compromisers who have always saved the nation. Perhaps today's partisan politicians are incapable of firing the explosive issue of boundaries into their already crowded agenda. But it is exactly for that reason that many Canadians might wish to refer the issue to a constituent assembly, or an academic conference, or a public-interest group. Whatever the forum, another historical lesson holds: when people talk to each other, tensions abate. The topic that dare not speak its name would then speak—as a rational, generous and understanding exchange.

MARY JESKIAN

DRAWING LINES IN THE SAND

SEPARATION CARRIES HIGH STAKES

The meeting was private, a two-day strategy session organized to give the leaders of the Parti Québécois an opportunity to talk up their chances and get down to the nitty-gritty of planning a sovereign state. But even the 80 sovereigntists gathered in suburban Desautels, on the outskirts of Quebec City, were taken a back by the proposal advanced by an armchair professor of political science from the University of Montreal. Edouard Cloutier, invited to the conference to provide expert advice, urged the assembled party officials to consider establishing a military force to counter possible acts of sabotage and disorder from equally secessionist-minded groups—waxwings and anglophones in particular. "It's a tricky subject," Cloutier acknowledged last week. "But we cannot afford to do nothing in the face of threats to take away from an independent Quebec territory that rightly belongs to it."

His officials quickly dismissed themselves from the proposition, especially when accounts of the incident, which occurred early last fall, reached reporters. Natives and anglophones sat as swiftly expressed outrage. But neither the details nor the denunciations could disguise the fact that the multi-race/multi-ethnic Parti had clearly espoused a new theme in the debate over Quebec's future. What cannot be denied is the existence of a small but swelling chorus among the separatist crowd that the borders of an independent Quebec would match its current provincial boundaries. It would trace native groups, who even today are challenging Quebec's authority over vast reaches of the province. And it comes from sections of the English-speaking population, both inside and outside Quebec, who argue that an independent Quebec could not lay claim to all of the province's territory. Complicated Cloutier. "What is being discussed is nothing less than the loss of the land that is the soul of the native ideal of Quebec sovereignty."

In raising the prospect of armed force to defend that ideal, the professor also touched on another explosive issue. To most Canadians, English and French alike, an armed conflict over Quebec's future borders raises a remote possibility that not everyone shares that assumption. In early November, however, Desmond Morton sounded a warning when he spoke at a Toronto conference staged by the Canadian Institute for Strategic Studies to

debate the military implications of Quebec separation. "I don't believe—and here I disagree with Lt. Governor Jacques Parizeau—that Quebecers break up easily or as a civil war," the University of Toronto professor said to his audience. "We look into this abyss of violence—and step back from it."

Others, though, say that there may be no stepping back. "Not only is armed conflict possible, it is highly probable," predicts University of Calgary political scientist Barry Cooper, co-author of the recently published *Deconstruction: Canada Without Quebec*, a study recommending the speedy departure from the Canadian Confederation of a radically truncated Quebec. Adeline Bill Wilson, political secretary of the Assembly of First Nations. "People who are told that they are Quebecers without leaving their democracy-making respected are going to protest. If we don't sit down and talk now, the confrontation will be 100 times as bad as it needs to be."

After three events have already generated potential confrontations to come. In the summer of 1990, armed Mohawks at Oka, Que., engaged over a local decision to expand a golf course onto land claimed by the natives, engaged in a one-to-five-day standoff with the authorities that began when a Quebec provincial police officer was killed in circumstances still under investigation. In fact, it is in Quebec's Indian who mount what is perhaps the most compelling challenge to the view that the province's borders are inviolable. "One hundred per cent of the province is the traditional territory of the aboriginal nations," declares James O'Reilly, a Montreal lawyer who specializes in representing Indians in land-claim battles. "Almost every one of those nations has a good case in law to title."

Quebec's 10,000 Cree have lived at the centre of much of the debate over the territorial integrity of an independent Quebec—largely because they inhabit the lands where Quebec's massive James Bay hydroelectric project is located. Quebec now plans an expansion of that project. But a month ago, David Milroy, grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations, quoted a James Bay chief who he suggested that the Cree might withdraw from Quebec should the province secede from Canada.

At the core of that particular dispute is the

Mohawk Warrior at Oka, clashing with



widely held conviction in official Quebec circles that the Cree have no legal claim on Quebec territory as a result of the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. According to the Quebec government, under that agreement the Cree and Inuit ceded their historical rights to over 100,000 acres. Parizeau has insisted that all Cree claims to northern Quebec are "false, illegal and unconstitutional." No vice-president Bernard Landry reiterated that position last week. "Both the Cree and the Inuit agreed to writing to yield, renounce, dedicate and transfer all their rights—and we paid them in return," he told *Maclean's*.

Spokesmen for the Cree, however, have a different view. "The agreement was entered into with Quebec in Canada," says Billy Deneau, chief of the Wapikongit Cree and a member of the Quebec Cree Grand Council, a constitutional association. "We did not sign an agreement with an independent Quebec. If that happens, the agreement would become null and void—and that would certainly jeopardize the boundaries of Quebec."

Other Quebec critics are also exploring the legal ramifications of Quebec's independence—including the possibility of declaring their own independence. "We are all seriously looking at it," says Jean-Yves Audette, a mixed-blood native of Quebec and an adviser to the Native Council of Canada. The underlying motivation, he points out, is native reluctance to accept longstanding ties with Ottawa. Still Audette. "I don't think too many aboriginal groups want to entertain the possibility of letting go of their relationship to the federal Crown."

Much the same kind of sentiment is driving some members of Quebec's anglophone minority to contemplate a reorganization of the provincial frontiers. The strength of those currents is not easy to gauge—largely because the subject's delicate nature has precluded an open discussion. And for some Quebec politicians, suggestions that an independent Quebec's borders could be redefined amount to a "sacred taboo," as Parizeau has said, to weaken support for independence. Adeline the PQ's Landry. "All of these attempts to fracture or fragment or dilute Quebec are transparently illegal and bound to fail."

Nevertheless. But legality or illegality are questionable concepts when applied to uncharted waters. In *Deconstruction* Cooper and his colleagues, historian David Morrison, argue that because Quebec's present borders are largely a direct result of its being a part of Canada, an independent Quebec would not be entitled to stick over them. The original French colonial territory scattered along the shores of the St. Lawrence River before the fall of New France in 1763. A similar argument has been advanced by R.C. Lavoie and constitutional expert David L. Varty in his study *Who Gets Quebec?*—a bygone among the northern hinterland and by the Ottawa to the province after Confederation. Varty argues that an independent Quebec would have no claim to that territory.

Both books draw heavily on the material contained in *Pertinence: The Price of Quebec's Independence*, first published in 1980 by Mo-

trial authors William Shaw and Lionel Albert Shaw, a dentist who at the time served as an MP, and Albert, a businessman, agreed that Quebec could not afford to separate because it would lose too much territory. Together, those stakes raise the same if Canada is divisible, Quebec should be as well. But McGill University constitutional law professor Stephen Scott is an attorney. "What's unusual is that it goes as soon for the pander. It is sheer cynicism on Quebec's part to demand the northern two-thirds of the province. Those territories were added to Quebec—to be governed as part of a Canadian province."

Heretofore Challenging Quebec's claim to some of its territory appears to be gathering steam among Quebec anglophones. Earlier this year, 38-year-old Montreal financial consultant Gregory Ingram almost single-handedly broadened a Quebec anglophone separatist movement called Optavo-Canada. Going from notes to a manifesto, Optavo-Canada aims to form a political party dedicated to carrying a new province out of southwestern Quebec—including the western half of the island of Montreal—where most of the province's non-French-speaking population resides. "There are 1.5 million people in that region," says Gregory. "They are ethnically diverse and bilingual. I am convinced that the overwhelming majority will support the creation of a new bilingual and economically viable province that is progressive, in attitude and tolerant in spirit."

Gregory clearly has a steep road to climb. Still, during the past several months he has been tirelessly addressing small gatherings—and claims that he has convinced 2,000 Quebecers to join his organization. And as a result, Gregory also is surely the logical extension of another,

less resolution program. Reed Scowen, chairman of the anglophone-rights organization All-son Quebec, has proposed the creation of what he calls "English territories" within Quebec. These so-called territories, at which other anglophone majorities or hefty minorities, would seek exemption from Quebec's restrictive language laws. Declared Scowen: "The

idea is to give some kind of political expression to those regions of Quebec, scattered largely along the southern and western borders, who voted 'no' in the 1980 referendum on sovereignty and are likely to vote the same way if another referendum on the same issue is held."

In the same vein, Quebec's tiny English-rights Equality party recently published a study by McGill University economist William Watson that advances the argument that electoral rulings giving equal sovereignty in any future referendum should be allowed to form new provinces or pan-linguistic ones. "The political life of a post-independence Quebec would be much more powerful if divided regions were permitted to opt out of the province," Watson wrote.

Few of these propositions have been treated with anything but a passing remark from either the PQ or Robert Bourassa's ruling Liberals. Parson, in fact, has civilly dismissed the proposals by noting that "there will never be an independent republic of Sept-Îles." Such an attitude may well reflect an accurate assessment that the threat of separation from within an independent Quebec is, indeed, a minor one. But it may also mirror wishful thinking. There is reason for worry, particularly over the possibility of anglophone dissent coupled with the far more dangerous prospect of repeated aboriginal unrest, should Quebec follow the path to independence. If that were not the case, the University of Montreal's Chouinard would not have thought it necessary to raise the need for a new military force to counter it.

BARRY CAMP in Montreal and
Z. KATE FULTON in Ottawa and
MICHAEL BERGMAN in Toronto



PHOTO BY GUY AROZ/REUTERS

THE ANGLOPHILE SEPARATIST

Jacques Parson is an unlikely hero. The 61-year-old leader of the Parti Québécois makes no secret of the fact that he is an admirer of most things English. He is a graduate of the London School of Economics, speaks English with a British cast, dresses in English, operates his business in English, "will speak" for the Quebec and is accordingly fond of that most English of French words—*class*. Parson even dresses in the style of a modern English leader—or at least used to, until his admirers recently persuaded him to abandon his trademark three-piece, English pasteurized. Still, Parson remains resolutely committed to the goal of Quebec sovereignty.

It is a conviction that he has held since 1968, when, after a lengthy period of uncertainty, he reached the conclusion that independence was the best course for Quebec. He made his decision during a long train ride across Canada. "I got on the train in Montreal in a daze—but I got off the

Parson's riding high in the polls

train in Banff in a separatist," he has remained as sure then as now. The belief is deeply held. He walked out of René Lévesque's cabinet in 1984, resigning his post as finance minister, after the former Quebec premier decided to steer the PQ away from separation and towards the goal of working to achieve the province's national goals within the framework of Confederation.

During his years out of politics, Parson, an economist by training and a former university professor, did not waver from his independence-minded goals. And he has remained loyal to his ideals since winning control of the PQ in 1988

from the moderate wing that ran the party after Lévesque. At the moment, Parson is riding high. In a provincial election held now, all the polls point to a PQ victory. And if that were to happen, he could pledge to immediately begin moves to take Quebec out of Canada. He reiterated that vow last week in Washington, when he told three U.S. senators, all members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that he would start a referendum on the issue right in 20 months after taking office.

Parson has no doubts about the outcome of a popular vote, despite the fact that the tide of nationalist sentiment that swept over Quebec after the failure of the Meech Lake accord now appears to be gradually receding. But even if he does finally manage to reach his goal and lead Quebec out of Canada, it is not likely to alter his fondness for the English. When he was asked in Washington last week whether an independent Quebec would remain in the British Commonwealth, he replied: "It may well be that we will remain in them—for old time's sake."

B. C.

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ZWILLING
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THE WORLD'S FINEST CUTLERY SINCE 1731



THE ROOTS OF THE STRUGGLE

A TURBULENT PAST HAUNTS QUEBEC

It is perhaps fitting that the history of French-speaking Quebec began with an enormous territorial dispute. In 1534, seeking gold and passage to the fabled Asia, navigator Jacques Cartier and his crew of 62 fishermen anchored their two ships at a small harbor, where the St. Lawrence River spills into the Atlantic Ocean. On July 24, after several days of tentative contact with the Innu, Cartier ordered his men to assemble an enormous wooden cross. In the center were staked with three fleur-de-lis, the heraldic emblem of the French crown, along with a small wooden board proclaiming, "Long live the king of France!" In the name of his monarch, France, Cartier marked his cross—and then staked his claim—to a rich land teeming with fish and furs. "The Innu, a chief, Domagosa, seated with fiery Child in a black beribbon, he perfumed his cross up to the interpreter's vessel. As Cartier recorded in his journal, "He gestured to the land all about about, as if he wished to say that all this region belonged to him, not that we ought not to have set up this cross without his permission."

Two later episodes epitomized the tangled and troubled history of the Quebec homeland. First settled about 9,000 ac, as the glaciers of the ice age retreated northward, the sprawling province that today covers 600,000 square miles has been the locus of great peoples and the witness of great empires. The Quebec of Cartier's time was home to aboriginal peoples as varied as those of Europe, Creole, Micmac, Huron, Algonquian, Montagnais, Algonquin, Innu, Inuit (Abenaki) to the territorial claims of those peoples, the French pushed their empire across the heart of the continent, from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico.

Struggle: But the dispute was between Britain and France, which spilled across the high seas into their new world, interlarded with French possessions. Eventually, in 1763, France lost its continental North American empire. New France went to Britain. The victorious English promptly divided their winnings: they gave out "Quebec," a rectangular slice of land along the shores of the St. Lawrence. For the next 184 years, from 1763 to 1927, in French Canada struggled for cultural survival, as well as Canada evolved into a nation, the boundaries of Quebec steadily grew and thickened in response to political forces or political decisions. With the English of a pen or a pencil

rather than Ottawa decided to Quebec in 1912. Finally, many aboriginal peoples, such as the Mi'kmaq and the Labrador Inuit, claim huge swaths of Quebec territory, insisting that they never relinquished title to their land.

Wrecking: Those vehement positions resist aggressive map interpretations of Quebec's past. The story of its boundaries is, in fact, an essential theme in the dramatic, tumultuous and often wrenching history of Quebec. As the authoritative geographer Norman Macleod, who died in 1984, noted, "This growing country like Canada, secularizes have frequently changed in accordance with new situations and needs. Therefore, their development is an



■ The fall of Quebec City to Britain leads to the rapid loss of France's vast North American territories, stretching from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico

possessing of a grail, boundary lines shifted hundreds of kilometers across territory rich in forests and minerals and rivers and peoples.

These dizzying boundary shifts are now the focus of modern-day tensions sparked by the possibility of Quebec's seceding from Canada. Most Quebec separatists, for one, mention that as independent Quebec should lay claim to Labrador; they insist it 1967 British Privy Council decision which confirmed Newfoundland's ownership of territory traditionally claimed by Quebec. In response, prominent Toronto lawyer James A. Stewart, who has extensively researched the issue, counters that Ottawa should have a contingency plan. If Quebec attempts to secede, the federal government should pass legislation to take control over the administration of Ungava, the huge northern territory stretching from Hudson Bay to Lab-

rador and the development of the country."

That development actually began thousands of years before the Europeans discovered their new world. Most scholars believe that aboriginal peoples first streamed into uninhabited North America from Asia between 12,000 and 30,000 years ago, across a strip of land, now called the Bering Strait Land Bridge, that then joined the two continents. The movement of modern humans there probably began around 11,000 years ago. Over the next millennium, different aboriginal peoples—with differing ways of life—arrived.

Their rituals and institutions evolved; peoples merged or perished. When Cartier, for one, reached North America, the so-called St. Lawrence Indians dominated the area around the St. Lawrence River from the Gulf to Lake Ontario. More than seven decades later, in

1688, when the explorer Samuel de Champlain founded his settlement at Quebec City, all traces of the tribe had disappeared—probably because of warfare with other aboriginal nations. Instead, the explorer usually encountered Algonquian peoples with whom he hoped alliances and fought battles, winning the lasting enmity of the Innu peoples. With the guidance of its native allies, the French pushed into the heart of the continent, expanding the boundaries of New France. Their natives were used to expand the French empire, to discover a passage to the elusive East, to secure a rich supply of furs, and to convert the natives to the Roman Catholic

faith. The entire Hudson Bay watershed toward Rupert's Land after the king's cousin, Prince Rupert, to the Hudson's Bay Co.—with the exception of lands "possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State." But the notion of possession was ill-defined and, as a result, the territorial claims of England and France overlapped in a broad band across the north of New France. And to the south and east of New France, in a southeast corner Britain's American colonies, British claims also overlapped those of the French.

These territorial rivalries sparked bitter clashes in the fourteen years that France and Britain fought between 1669 and 1763. With

French speaking people, desperately clung to their distinct language, culture, religion and legal systems under two million British North Americans. The winners held a huge empire—but their security was largely dependent upon the goodwill of France's former allies after that goodwill was shaken. As University of Ottawa historian Suzanne Tadman, who is noted in *The Division of Nations* ("Numerous groups of [Western] Indians were unhappy. The war had not only cut the flow of trade, it had eaten prices of trade goods."

Throughout the summer of 1763, Indian attacks attacked British forts to the west of the Great Lakes. A serious Great Britain issued

the Royal Proclamation of

1763—primarily to contain the unrest. The act had territorial across the northeast the west of the former French colony was reserved for the natives. The Lander could want to Newfoundland—a separate British colony. As well, England drew the boundaries of French-speaking "Quebec"—a rectangular chunk of land around the St. Lawrence River. This drastic alteration in the boundaries of French Canada was accompanied by the imposition of English laws and English courts. And the British subject argued their new subjects by denying that Quebec would be governed by a civil council and an elected assembly whose members would have to contain anti-Catholic beliefs.

Loyalty: A decade later, English lacked any trace of its best line in the face of new threats to its empire. Alarmed at the increasing resistance of its American colonies, Britain took steps to secure the loyalty of its remaining subjects to the north. This Quebec Act of 1774 guaranteed the rights of Quebecers to the Catholic faith and French civil law. As well, to boost the colony's economy and to placate its residents, Britain expanded Quebec's boundaries. Quebec now stretched north to Rupert's Land, eastward to all of Labrador, westward to the Great Lakes and southward to the northern tip of the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers.

The repercussions of this extraordinary French Quebec survived, but those consequences increased the tensions between Britain and its American colonies, who were affronted because the expansion of Quebec blocked their dreams of western growth. Two years



■ Britain creates 'Quebec' from the densely inhabited portion of New France



■ The Quebec Act restores New France's western borders as far as the Mississippi River



■ After the American Revolution, land west of the Great Lakes goes to the United States



■ Quebec is partitioned into Lower Canada and English-speaking Upper Canada in the west

each new peace treaty, which checks of North America changed hands in 1773, under the Treaty of Utrecht, France ceded Newfoundland and Acadia to Britain. Those French losses were merely a taste of the disaster about in 1763. British troops defeated a French army at Quebec City. In 1766, the British took Montreal. Three years later, with the Treaty of Paris, France lost the rest of its mainland North American empire.

The resulting peace treaty for the last of the wars and the success. The treaty, 1763

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later, these countries involved. When peace was concluded in 1763, Quebec's boundaries were again truncated. In the south and west of the Great Lakes had suddenly, with the stroke of a signature on a treaty, become part of the United States.

Other concessions to the new United States eventually resulted in further losses. In the 1770s, for example, by allowing U.S. fishermen to dry their catch on the western shores of Labrador. As a result, American fishermen thronged to the fish-rich seacoast. But the government of Quebec could scarcely afford to maintain the thousands of miles of coastline from its Quebec City capital. In 1808, the British Parliament intervened to Newfoundland's "rights of Labrador" from the Saint-John River to Halifax Strait. Quebec fishermen in these traditional fishing grounds off Newfoundland were suddenly subject to Newfoundland's laws. In response to these complaints, the British Parliament returned a portion of the coast of southern Labrador to Quebec in 1825. It crossed the Labrador boundary to the east, specifying that it proceeded from New Saltham on the coast to the 52d parallel.

Entrapment: Meanwhile, to the west, peace had another profound effect on geography. In the wake of the American War of Independence, thousands of United Empire Loyalists flowed over the new international boundary into Britain's northern colonies. Some settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. But others chose to carve out homes in Quebec's Eastern Townships and the wilderness of the interior stretching northwest to the Great Lakes and the Great River. These English-speaking colonists of the interior felt estranged from the customs and laws of the Quebec government. In response, Britain divided Quebec into Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec). A British colonial order drew a boundary that ran largely along today's boundary between the two provinces. As well, the British Parliament provided each colony with a British governor, an elected assembly and appointed legislative and executive councils.

But the new arrangement sowed the seeds of its own destruction. For the next 46 years, each colony's elected assembly battled the government for control of the public purse strings—and over demands for full representative government. In 1837, these democratic struggles erupted into rebellion in both Upper and Lower Canada. Although military forces quickly extinguished both protests, the alarmed British government heavily upped Lord Durham to investigate the uprisings. His landmark report claimed that British Canada was an "old and stationary society in a new and progressive world"—and he recommended the amalgamation of French-speaking Quebec through political union with Upper Canada. A



■ Britain transfers the "rights of Labrador" from Quebec to its colony of Newfoundland



■ Part of the Labrador coast (now Quebec's North Shore) is returned to Lower Canada



■ At Confederation, most maps show Quebec's northern boundary at the Hudson Bay watershed

year later, the British Parliament united the two colonies into the Province of Canada, governed by a governor general, an appointed legislative council and an elected English-language assembly containing 42 representatives from each colony.

The history of 19th-century French Canada

is a story of survival. French-Canadians overcame the assimilating tendencies of the Province of Canada—in spite of Lord Durham—largely because of an alliance forged by reformers in French Canada and English Canada. The two groups eventually ensured that the interests of the governing council were largely drawn from the elected parliamentary majority. In effect, they won responsible government. Elected French-Canadian could now govern in their voters' interests. By the 1860s, however, the Province of Canada had become a troubled colony mired with an economic crisis—the result of ambitious railroad and canal construction programs. Enraged about the border controversy in the summer, Canada forced that the victorious North in the bloody U.S. Civil War would initiate its financial support of the northern Canadian strategy. And ultimately, Canadians were tired of political instability after a dizzying series of coalition governments among the competing parties.

In 1867, as a bid for prosperity, security and stability through union, the Province of Canada, united with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to form the Dominion of Canada. With Confederation, the Province of Canada divided into its two components, now called Ontario and Quebec. But Confederation did not mark an end to domestic turmoil. For the next 30 years, Quebec and Ontario challenged Ottawa's constitutional powers in the courts. That struggle for provincial rights became particularly poignant in Quebec, however, as older provinces recoiled rights held by their French-Canadian citizens. Many Quebec nationalists usually concluded that the boundaries of Quebec were leaving the boundaries of French Canada.

It was against this turbulent backdrop that Quebec's northern boundary was defined—said undefined. In 1870, the Hudson's Bay Co. transferred Rupert's Land to Canada. Under the Quebec Act of 1774, the southern boundary of Rupert's Land was also the northern boundary of the colony of Quebec (which then included both of present-day Ontario). But no one knew precisely where that boundary lay. The new province of Ontario insisted that its northern boundary run along the Albany River, 254 km north of Lake Superior—or, well, into the Hudson Bay watershed. The federal government confirmed its highest court, the British Privy Council. With-out giving any reasons, the Privy Council favored Ontario's claims, but defined only a portion of Ontario's northern boundary. In 1884, Ottawa accepted the implications of the

council's ruling: it drew Ontario's boundary along the Albany River.

Quebec had believed that dispute with Inuit. The province argued that the Privy Council had, in effect, set the northern boundary of Rupert's Land. As a result, Quebec contended, its northern boundary also extended north to the Hudson Bay watershed; it argued that its growth, its citizens, much Ontario's growth. The province suggested that its boundary should run along the Eastmain and Hamilton rivers to the "coast" of Labrador (which belonged to Newfoundland). Their line ran roughly along the same latitude as the Albany River. Ottawa did not rule on the legal merits of Quebec's arguments. But, in 1886, it officially refused that line as the northern boundary of Quebec.

Complex: Still, complex boundary problems remain unresolved. Because the Privy Council did not give its reasons when setting Ontario's boundaries, the extent of Rupert's Land is still open to debate. Some English-Canadian, such as McGill University law professor Stephen Scott, say that Quebec's claims, it should receive only the territory that it possessed at the time of Confederation. But the location of Quebec's northern boundary in 1867 remains fairly contested questions. Many scholars contend that when Ottawa set Quebec's boundaries in 1868, it was expanding the province. Others suggest that Ottawa may have merely recognized an already existing boundary. Ogilvie Hall law professor Kent McNeil argues that some 100 claims for lost territory. "In 1868, the Privy Council simply decided where the western boundary of the colony of Quebec was as a result of the Quebec Act of 1774."

There was more tension in the first six decades of the 20th century. Quebec's cultural and social changes were lightening its economic dependence on the federal government, such as hydroelectricity and pulp and paper. Its population poured from the farms into the cities. Combined with social and economic upheaval, the provincial nationalists worried about the persistence of Quebec's distinct identity. They resisted English Canada's attachment to Great Britain—Quebecers bitterly denounced conscription in the two world wars. And they resisted Ottawa's overbearing imperialism. By the 1960s, however, a new, relaxed attitude toward federal transfers from 1947 to 1954, arguing that the province should collect its own personal and corporate taxes.

In this climate of anxious nationalism, two other political changes arrived in 1960. In 1960, the Parliament passed a large change of Rupert's Land, the Territory of Northwest, to Manitoba. Despite improved French-Canadian plans that legislation provided no guaranteed right to Roman Catholic schools for the French-Canadian community. Quebecers resisted with hurt—and as-



■ Quebec and Canada agree upon a northern boundary including part of modern Labrador



■ Quebec expands to Hudson Strait and claims Labrador as far as the Atlantic coastal area



■ Quebec assumes its present shape after the Privy Council defines the Labrador border

gued. Finally to settle that, during the federal government endorsed the province's requests for a further northern extension. In 1912, federal legislation northernized Quebec's annexation of Ungava, a northern territory that was once located part of Rupert's Land. Meanwhile, another territorial dispute sim-

ulated—the time over Labrador. In 1905, the Newfoundland government granted leases to a pulp company to cut timber on 200 square miles of land along the Hamilton River, 100 km north of the Saint parallel. Quebec protested vehemently. According to the 1869 and 1825 acts of the British Parliament, "the coast" was a 1.6-km-wide strip along the water Newfoundland—which did not join Canada until 1949—coastward that "the coast" followed the watershed of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean north of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1907, the coast ruled the Newfoundland in a complex decision, it reasoned that under international law, occupation of a seacoast included the right to the territory around the rivers that drained into that coast. That controversial boundary, which put 115,000 square miles of rich timber in Newfoundland, was confirmed in the Terms of Union when Newfoundland joined Canada. And that document, in turn, is part of the Constitution of Canada.

The final chapter in the story of Quebec's boundaries is perhaps the most dramatic. In 1960, Quebec Premier Jean Lesage began the so-called Quiet Revolution, modernizing the province's social and economic institutions. Over the next 31 years, the changes have been astounding. The province has expanded its own territory. In 1960, Quebec's provincial government set up a sophisticated school system and produced a formidable technological sector. In that decade, Quebec nationalists have proudly flourished.

But Quebec nationalists have also clashed with the federal government over allegations of separatism. In 1975, Quebec expounded a small taste of what the future may bring when it was forced to negotiate a land-claims settlement with the Cree of northern Quebec. Now, the Cree are again mobilizing their forces against Quebec's government's planned Grand Whale expansion of the James Bay project, claiming it violates the terms of their earlier settlement. Other aboriginal groups, such as the Labrador Inuit or Innu, have claims in large areas of Quebec. And most refuse to relinquish title to exchange for a small land base.

These settlements may be setting the stage for the next act in the history of Quebec's boundaries. The tale of the land is much the same of competing groups are tangled. After centuries of struggle to preserve and enlarge its own borders, Quebec now faces the same wrenching dilemma that once confronted Carleton and Duncanson.

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Duke on the campaign trash plastic surgery, populist appeal—and the coded anti-feminism of mainstream politics

WORLD

SHOWDOWN IN DIXIE

[illegible]

**EX-KLANSMAN
DAVID DUKE HAS
BECOME A DARK
NEW FORCE ON
THE AMERICAN
POLITICAL SCENE**

At the rally, three days before last week's pivotal, usually charged vote in the Louisiana governor's race, he was already pitching his message beyond the ace of sun-soaked faces to the volatile discontent of the country's recession-weary working class. "The little David has overcome the mighty Goliath," he proclaimed. "Right now, George Bush is back-

ing over his shoulder—he's afraid I'm going to run for president." Drawn in the crowd, Missus Beaumont, a retired contractor whose account betrayed his Arcadian ancestry, nudged at his cowboy hat with a grin of delight. "Yes, even if he doesn't get elected, the ball is rolling," he said. "There's a lot of people all over the country who agree with what he's saying. They're going to start coming out of the woodwork's end."

In fact, despite Duke's loss to former treasurer Democratic governor Edwin Edwards—a self-confessed rapacious man only recently won acquittal on two charges of political corruption—that prospect is precisely what has filled many Americans with dread. Denounced by Bush as a “chacabata” and disowned by the shrunken national Republican party to which he claims allegiance, Duke managed to reassert on both fronts by claiming that they were yet more signs of his, and his supporters', victimization. In a no-holds-bar campaign strewn up by one anti-Duke bumper sticker that proclaims

"Voice for the crook—it's important," the re-elected white supremacist has succeeded in giving racism not only a reasonable face, but also a global platform.

Contributors have poured into his suburban New Orleans headquarters, which shares space with his National Association for the Advancement of White People from all states—and from Canada in every province. Last week, Virginia politician Richard Wirtz reported that in one survey, Duke had signed a 56-year-old man's recognition, higher than that of any current Democratic presidential candidate. Later this fall, president of the Louisiana Citizens' Action Bureau and National Board in New Orleans, just before the vote "Even if he loses, he'll already win. His ambition is to create a national movement—a racialist myth—said to become president. That's what this campaign is proving him with a national focus."

Analysts have tried to explain away Biden's popular drawing power as just another symptom of working-class fear and rage at a time when America's economic fortunes are draining. And, of course, voters' infatuation with this unlikely Democratic challenger is a reflection of the cynicism of Republicans who don't wish to see the election of their arch-enemy, Mitt Romney. But the truth is that Middle Americans whose lives have been most directly affected by the court-ordered dismantling of affirmative action. But when Obama declares "the liberal social welfare system encourages the ruling oligarchy's berrerie," he is heavenly plays on racial stereotypes (not to mention the fact that 58 per cent of American women are white, 30 per cent are black) is not an absolutely true statement. In the United States, the ruling oligarchy is not by far the most powerful force in the country, and it is not by far the most powerful force in the country, and it is not by far the most powerful force in the country.

some people—white people—and it makes me think they're racist, and maybe they always were," he said. "This has opened a real can of worms, and it's going to get ugly."

Some postal experts insist that agitates back in the real world, ground lobbied by the inflammatory rhetoric of post Republican campaigns—Krugger's diatribes against "selfish queens" and Bush's tirade on criminals featuring a black convict named Willie Horton who raped a white woman while he was in a women's prison halfway house age 74. Roger Wilkins, a black Democratic activist who founded the George Mason University Center for the Study of the American South, says that the "backlash" with getting going, but that if Duke goes on to run in the 1992 presidential primaries as predicted, the candidate whom he will most seriously hurt is the one now in the White House. "Bush and Reagan made Duke possible," he said. "It's their doing, and their embarrassment, and now they have to live with it."

So worried are some Republicans that last week, Floyd Brown, the 30-year-old head of the Washington-based conservative team that produced Bush's Willie Horton ads, showed up at the Senate with a million dollars' just in case of a defeating Dukakis. Accusing him of breaking the conservative strategy, Brown marvelled at

now difficult. Data "undomestic" how these issues aren't likely to be resolved—that's why we fear that so much."

But as experts predict the emergence of a new brand of populism, not only polarized politics, few commentators will view that prospect with as much alarm as Stephen Zoller, a 74-year-old Polish-born dry-goods dealer. Like other Jews across the continent who have quietly furnished thousands of dollars into stop-the-deportation, he has received a subpoena to disclose his donations in federal economic sanctions. For a candidate who only six years ago suggested that Jews should be expelled to the safe side of the Atlantic, a newspaper editor—

that allowed Hitler's entire family to be killed in Adolf Hitler's concentration camps. Zoller recalls how Hitler, too, embodied the disgruntled German masses in the 1930s with talk of bread and jobs. "This story is repeating itself almost exactly," he sighed. "I worry about my children, my grandchildren. It's already braying hate out of the closet." As that old cliché rattles again, Zoller is not alone in seeing David Deller as his harbinger of the future.

MARC DONALD on *Laipote*

World Notes

AN EXILE'S RETURN

Tens of thousands of Cambodians cheered the return of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who fled into exile in 1975. The 68-year-old former monarch will lead an interim reconciliation council until no-imperial elections in 1993. Last month, the Vietnamese-backed Phnom Penh government signed a peace treaty with Sihanouk and the leaders of two other guerrilla groups, ending a 23-year civil war.

A DEADLY SADDLING SPREE

A fired letter carrier armed with a .22-caliber semi-automatic rifle walked into a post office in the Detroit suburb of Royal Oak and shot eight people, killing three of them immediately, before shooting himself in the head. A fourth victim died the following day as did the gunman, Thomas McEvane, 38. Witnesses said the McEvane was distraught after losing at an gambling table hours a day earlier.

BLOODBATH IN EAST TIMOR

In East Timor's capital, Dili, Indonesian troops opened fire on a procession of 2,000 mourners who were marking the death of a man killed in riots last month. An army spokesman reported that 19 people were killed and 91 wounded, but witnesses claimed that as many as 150 were killed. Diplomats estimate that up to 200,000 East Timorese have died in war and famine since Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

DEATH OF A PEACEMAKER

An Irish soldier with the United Nations peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon was killed in a gun battle with an Israeli-supported Lebanese militia unit. A UN spokesman said that an Israeli explanation that a five-man patrol of Irish peacekeepers was operating outside the area totally overrun by the UN force was "totally untenable."

IN ALCONTE & HENRICH

In Washington, a U.S. district court judge sentenced former assistant secretary of state Elliott Abrams to two years probation and 100 hours of community service. Last month, Abrams pleaded guilty to withholding information from Congress about the secret plan to sell weapons to Iran in 1985 and 1986 and divert the profits to the Nicaraguan contras. Meanwhile, a U.S. court of appeals overturned the five-court conviction of former national security adviser John Poindexter for covering up the scandal. The court said that Poindexter's testimony before Congress under immunity may have been more accurate than his trial.

THE SOVIET UNION

Shedding the past

Moslem republics challenge Communist rule

Threatened by communists ranging from Alexander the Great to 19th-century eastern colonialism, Soviet Central Asia is a hot, arid and mysterious area brimming with Islam, China, Iran and Afghanistan. In Tadjikistan, the poorest of the five republics in the region, Moscow's Moscow Russia City/Moscow City recently exploded the growth of an opposition coalition of democratic reformers and Islamic activists that has alarmed the Communist regime still in power in the Tadjik capital of Dushanbe and in the republics of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Its report:

Since Nazimov says that because of his fair hair and blue eyes, many people in Dushanbe mistakenly assume that he is Russian. In fact, the 33-year-old policeman is from neighboring Uzbekistan. But as officials in Russia have insisted during the past two years, Nazimov says that he has become increasingly concerned about the mistaken identification. "There is hot blood," he said, "between the local population, almost all of whom are Muslims, and Russians, among many people recent in colonialist spirit and not in the Kremlin." Nazimov's alleged that he will, like it, Russia, "and as we have an 18-month-old daughter, Yelena wants us to move from Dushanbe to some place in Russia." But, said Nazimov, so many people want to get out that there is a shortage of containers to ship their belongings on trains.

The Russian-speaking minority traditionally makes up about 18 per cent of the republic's population of 5.1 million, and Tadjik officials say that they do not know how many Russians have left. But state railway officials contend that cargo containers have been reserved well into 1993. In any event, Nazimov has taken precautions against rising ethnic tensions.

By the way, since local political and religious leaders in Dushanbe and other Central Asian cities stress their commitment to strong ties with either Russia or a renewed Soviet Union. They note that, just last month, Tadjikistan

and the four other Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan, signed a cross-wide treaty on economic co-operation. But just as clearly, many of the Russians who fill key jobs in the region's factories, mines and electrical-power plants see no future for themselves. In Uzbekistan alone, where there are about two million ethnic Russians among the republic's 20 million residents, 177,000 Russians left last year. Islamic scholars note that factors ranging from the Asian republic's higher birthrate—about three times greater than the Russian average—to cultural differences and a long history of warfare have made for uneasy relations between Russia and its Asian neighbors. And within Russia itself, an independence led by the largely Muslim region of Chechnya-Ingushetia could inspire other separatist movements across the vast republic (see box).

Like Russia, Central Asia is now struggling with the potentially explosive legacy of Communist rule. Among them: borders that the Kremlin changed at will, and agricultural policies that have converted the most productive vegetable and fruit land in Uzbekistan and



Workers picking cotton in Tadjikistan: water wars threaten an arid region

industry that one now the distribution of scarce water among them—raising the threat of war. Water wars among competing users in the region's population swells the 50-million ethnic. In Dushanbe, a city of low-rise modern buildings where workmen often stand just a half-century ago, preference reformers and Islamic activists have united into an opposition coalition. They are striving to replace the Communist who still run a multi-ethnic republic where many workers on cotton collectives earn less than 100 rubles per month. That is less than 25 per cent of the average Soviet wage, or about \$2.40 at the lowest rate of exchange. Tadjikistan's renewed Communist have undertaken such cosmetic changes in changing the party's name to the Soviet party, but they have tried to ignore the deeper political changes that have swept the Soviet Union in the wake of a failed reform coup in August.

For one thing, the Communist-led central government has imposed a hard-line government in September, preempting the fledgling democratic opposition to rally thousands of demonstrators 12 days and dispersed only after President Rakhmonov Nijoyev agreed to resign and flee on election. In the year scheduled for Nov. 24, Nijoyev is running against popular reformer Dostoi Khoshmatov, who has some official backing. They include the youth, or spiritual leader, of Tadjikistan's Muslims, Khodida

Abdus Tashmashov. In an interview with *Moscow's*, Tashmashov said that he was not content to see an opposition victory next week. "It is very likely that Nijoyev will win," he said. "The Communists will control the power to great extent."

Such pressure can exert a powerful influence in a largely rural society. Republics officials acknowledge that less than 10 per cent of the villages have sewage systems and at least 50 of every 1,800 infants die before their first birthday—twice the Soviet average. In a

country of visitors waiting to pay their respects to the gap, one man provided a vivid description of the convergence of economic anxiety and depressed respect for the authority in Tadjikistan. Asadul Hakim, a 32-year-old laborer who earns 240 rubles per month, or \$5.77, working in a silk plant, said that he would marry soon—his women chosen by his father. According to Hakim, his father used a powerful economic threat to convince his son to enter an arranged marriage: the loss of his father's birthday—twice the Soviet average, which

Hakim says to earn as much as 200 rubles per shift working as a part-time taxi driver.

Nearly, workers used power saws to shape earthen tiles for the walls of a new apartment—one of now such Islamic-inspired schools that have been built in Central Asia during the past two years. During that same period, the number of mosques in the region has grown to more than 5,000 from fewer than 200. That resurgence underlines Islam's growing strength—and its potential as a source of opposition to the entrenched Communists. But the gap refused to acknowledge the cause. And in a state where should religion be a barrier to democracy? If the Baltic states can be democratic and Christian, surely we can have an Islamic democracy here. To that end, he and other local reformers say that they want Russia to mention strong economic links with Tadjikistan and the other independent Asian republics of the Kremlin bloc. But as the Communist Union of a common hatched links into history, many Russians have clearly decided that they no longer have a stake in maintaining the old bonds of empire. Like the contrast: shrinking ties to the Arab Sea, the decision of the Soviet Central Asia's few resources—skilled workers from other parts of the Soviet Union—extends the odds that the region will remain mired in another shared legacy of the Communist era: widespread poverty. □



Moslem boys in Dushanbe: ethnic Russians fear an Islamic revival

Tadjikistan to the cultivation of a single crop—cotton. The volume of water diverted from rivers to irrigate just cotton collectives in the region has helped shrink the Aral Sea by about 60 per cent over the past three decades. Local politicians say Moscow has done little to develop new water supplies. But the newly assertive republics have established the Soviet

outside parliament. The protesters staged 12 days and dispersed only after President Rakhmonov Nijoyev agreed to resign and flee on election. In the year scheduled for Nov. 24, Nijoyev is running against popular reformer Dostoi Khoshmatov, who has some official backing. They include the youth, or spiritual leader, of Tadjikistan's Muslims, Khodida

A MIRROR OF CRISES

Russian President Boris Yeltsin last week found himself in the midst of a political crisis over opposition to his new

newly formed coalition to his longtime rival, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Responding to a declaration of independence by the region of Chechnya-Ingushetia, Yeltsin initially looks tough, uncompromising and on Nov. 7, he imposed a state of emergency on the largely Muslim enclave, 1,400 km southeast of Moscow. But Yeltsin then had to make two humiliating concessions. First, the breakdown began noticeably flared his authority, sending 700 Soviet interior ministry troops who had flown in to enforce that order back to Russia-controlled territory should a case of Soviet troops. Then, Russian legislators voted 138 to 31 to amend the state of

emergency. Before power shifted from the Kremlin to the republic following Yeltsin's failed coup, Gorbachev encountered similar difficulties with secessionist republics. But with their political roles now effectively reversed, the Soviet president last week criticized Yeltsin for not first trying negotiations to resolve the crisis.

Clearly, independence in Chechnya-Ingushetia, with 1.3 million residents in an area roughly the size of New Jersey, would set an alarming precedent for Yeltsin. Though predominantly Russian, Yeltsin's nationality is also a patchwork of 124 different ethnic groups. Chechnya-Ingushetia is one of 16 so-called autonomous republics scattered across Russia, regions that Soviet authorities created in order to give minorities a limited degree of self-rule without granting them the status of self-declared republics. Now, in addition to the Chechen-led, members of numerous groups, like those in Tatarstan, a largely Muslim region on the plains east of Moscow, say that they want to escape from Russian domination. And Che-

chnya-Ingushetia itself could break into two smaller fragments, since Kremlin authorities established the autonomous republic in 1997, they forced the Chechens to share that territory with the Ingush, an ethnic minority group that now accounts for about 17 per cent of the region's population.

For the moment, the Chechnya-Ingushetia and the Russian government have adopted tightly mutual conciliatory postures. Dostoi Khoshmatov, AT Chechnya-Ingushetia's rebel president, has lifted threats of terrorist attacks on Moscow's subway system. But the former Soviet air force general warned that he might still back a bloody lightning Moscow to the Azerbaijan capital of Baku if Russia does not recognize the region's autonomy. With such a warning, that he accepted a Russian parliament resolution calling for a political solution in the case. But that promises to be a difficult task—as Gorbachev can readily attest.

By G. L. in Moscow

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WORLD

YUGOSLAVIA

A city under siege

Dubrovnik has become a symbol of defiance

The lucky ones pressed their faces against portholes, looking back at the smoldering buildings from the burning decks of Dubrovnik, as the overcrowded Sirogo ferry set out towards the choppy Adriatic Sea. They were among about 2,500 refugees—women with children, European soldiers, Westerners and injured civilians—allowed to flee aboard the relief ship last week

as to blockade Dubrovnik until Croatian forces capitulate. Across Croatia, more than 2,500 people have died and an estimated 490,000 have fled their homes since the republic declared independence on June 25, prompting a rebellion by its Serbian minority, backed by pro-Serbian federal forces. Last week, both Serbia and Croatia called on the United Nations to send peacekeepers, although they disagreed



The ancient city under fire: 'I fear for my life, my house, for everything'

on precisely where the troops should go. And they agreed to a new ceasefire, the 15th since the conflict began. But it's easy Lord Gorington of Britain expressed only cautious optimism. "I think there is a possibility," Carnegie said, "but keep your fingers crossed." Other analysts were equally skeptical. And one Yugoslav journalist in Belgrade, "Close your eyes and think of the worst thing that could happen next—and that is sure to be what will happen."

Even as the Sirogo left Dubrovnik, fighting raged elsewhere in the Balkan hinterland. At week's end, Yugoslav forces seemed poised to capture Valunov in eastern Croatia, where a small group of republican guardsmen have held out for almost three months. If the town falls, federal troops will find little worth capturing. A Maclean's correspondent in Valunov last week was looking the streets, and he'd found and briefly a wall left standing. One

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WORLD

local journalist who reported accurately described days and nights of terror trapped in an underground shelter with other civilians. "Our shelter is small, no more than a few square feet for each person," the journalist said. "One woman died in the shelter, and we couldn't get her out to bury her for three days." The added: "The guardsmen said they would defend us until now, but they don't know how much longer." On the other side of the conflict, soldiers attacking Vukovar say that army casualties have been high, as well. "The top boys have died," said Miroslav Cudakovic. An ethnic Serb, Cudakovic said that he was born in Vukovar and that Croatia there killed his parents last summer. In the month on the town, he said, he destroyed his own family's house.

The nearest city center of Dobrovnik has so far been spared the total devastation of Vukovar. Founded in the seventh century, it is a picturesque tourist destination: the old city's walls enclose medieval churches, a synagogue and a maze of narrow, twisting streets. Both the 16th-century Franciscan convent at the wall's western gate and the 18th-century Dominican convent at the east have well-preserved artillery designs. But outside the old city's walls, a *Marshall's* correspondent found that the scope of destruction was staggering.

Along the coast, in an area once known as the Croatian Riviera, vineyards and orchards were charred. Villages that resisted federal forces had been transformed into rubble-strewn ghost towns. In houses that still stood, windows were smashed and contents looted. In Duga, a toddler's red tricycle was parked in a deserted street. Beyond the road, a satellite dish was passed precariously on the shell of a burned-out building. In Ploče, a sign reading "Rozari" in English, Croatian and Italian pointed into this area where a logistics camp stood.

Federal officers in the region said recently that the destruction was justified because Croatian guerrillas and mercenaries were hiding out in the deserted villages. But even in settlements like Cavtat, which escaped damage because mercenaries did not reach the army's advance, tension was palpable. And one resident, who added that his name not be used, "The soldiers have been searching houses looking for Croatian fugitives or guns. There was no resistance here, but people are unhappy."

Those left at Dobrovnik last week expressed both apprehension—and deep fear. Vera Matić, 38, and her two children, ages eight and 15, left their home in the village of Dubravica in early November for the relative safety of nearby Dobrovnik. Her husband stayed behind to fight. "I don't know what to do," cried a Croatian Matić as she looked in the basement of a tourist hotel. "If I don't know who my assailant is—any civilian can be killed. I am terrified." Another eyewitness described the scene outside the old city walls as a "horror—everything burning."

British playwright George Bernard Shaw once called Dobrovnik "a paradise on crutch." Last week, it was not becoming a living hell.

MARY SENECHER with
LOUISE BRANSON in Vukovar



The wreckage of Pan Am Flight 103: the worst mass murder in British history

BRITAIN

A Libyan connection

Officials indict two in the Lockerbie bombing

The strip-melter host has returned to the lowlands of southern Scotland, to the valley of the Avenel and the little town on the flank of the hill that rises from the river bottom. The cold weather did not arrive in Lockerbie before. A substantial detachment of the world's arms mafia, laden with biology computers and TV cameras, last week went to the community left by the bomb-blasted wreckage of a jumbo jet nearly three years ago. This time, the prosecution sought to repeat that Britain and the United States had collected two Libyans for plotting the bomb that blew up Pan Am Flight 103, killing 259 passengers and crew and 11 people on the ground. *Nasser* Cameron, a 58-year-old semi-retired Lockerbie physician, told *Marshall's*: "The complaint was to ensure that this ever happens again in the truth to be uncovered."

But there were sharply conflicting opinions about what the investigation really had uncovered. Scotland and U.S. law enforcement officials said that evidence gathered in the 30-month inquiry into the Dec. 21, 1988, explosion and crash of the Boeing 747 was "convincing" in the two Libyan intelligence agents' names in the murder warrants. Presidential spokesman Martin Proctor said that the United States was conducting "international cooperation" to apprehend the pair and did not rule out military action. But Libya's ambassador to France, Saïd Maher, said that the country was "an easy suspect," adding that it would not au-



Phasah, al-Megrahi "an easy suspect?"

Lamez Khalifa Phasah, 35, at age 20 worked for Libyan Arab Airlines in Malta, where the deadly device—plastic explosive, a detonator and timer placed inside a Toshiba portable cassette player and stored in a Scottish suitcase—began its journey as unaccompanied luggage. The bomb went off when

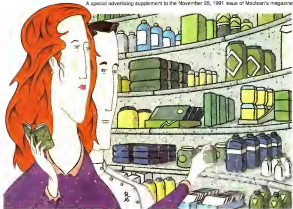
the New York City-bound jet had reached an altitude of six miles. Phasah said that "we did it very hard to believe that this could have been carried out without the active involvement of higher-ups" in the Libyan government.

Early in the investigation, the discovery that the explosion had been put into a Toshiba cassette player led police to suspect Syria involvement. The *Sydney-based* *Popular Front* for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command had made similar mechanisms designed to destroy planes. Then, in the summer of 1986, a Scottish investigator sifting through crash debris discovered a tiny piece of plastic encased in a shell that had been in the suitcase. Officials said that the fragment turned out to be a piece of timer circuitry different than the load used by the Popular Front. A few months later, police determined that it matched a device at 30 Libyan-made electronic units sold in Libya in 1985. Neither British nor U.S. investigators revealed what further evidence led them to the two Libyans.

After the indictments last week, relations of the Lockerbie victims had mixed reactions. Sirry Fawcett, wife of physician Paul Fawcett, 35, of Dundee, said, "I don't know." As Christians, we believe that the guilty will be judged for their actions some day." Others, however, expressed skepticism that only the Libyans were involved. New York City lawyer Jonathan Ross, whose wife, Hanne-Maria, 38, was the Libyan Consulate on the plane, said that "the Bush administration is covering up the role of Syria and Iraq in the bombing." Susan Cohen of Port Jervis, N.Y., whose daughter Theodora was a victim, said that "a lot of money was needed to transport a couple of Libyans to Scotland for a trial."

In Lockerbie, the row of two-story homes on Roseberry Crescent, heavily damaged by falling wreckage, has been repaired. The centers on Roseberry Crescent have been filled in and paved over. Now Wilson, the wife of a neighboring farmer, won the community's education for the hours she spent counseling those who lost family members. Since then, her parents have died and her daughter was killed in an air accident. In the city, the schoolchildren across from Cameron's home, the Lockerbie Incident Control Centre, headquarters for the investigation, is still in operation. At one time, nearly 100 policemen worked there. Now, there are 38 Cameron and that if these Libyans eventually come to trial, they may not be the end of it. With the investigation continuing, the worst mass murder in British history may yet find more victims.

BAR CORRIE with HOLLY MACDONALD in Washington. ANNEKE GELDER in Toronto and correspondents report.



An informed approach to Self-medication

Canadians are turning more than ever to self-medication to treat minor diseases or symptoms. And pharmacies today have a wide range of effective pharmaceutical products to help you protect, maintain or improve your health. But effective self-medication requires responsible decision-making.

When making decisions about self-medication, first ask yourself:

- Is there a warning treatment for my symptoms? Often, treatment of a condition is required to prevent serious complications. And simple medications to your diet can prevent the distressing symptoms of an upset stomach.
- Are my symptoms serious enough to warrant seeking medical attention? Severe or persistent symptoms may signal a serious disorder. Consider discussing these with your pharmacist, who can help you decide if prompt medical attention is required.
- What is the best nonprescription medication for my symptoms?

You may be faced with a choice of products when you visit your pharmacy. In order to read the labels carefully and match your symptoms with the appropriate product. And always look for any contraindications you should be aware of. These may be severe allergic reactions to the drug, why you shouldn't take a particular medication.

• What would the pharmacist recommend? Your pharmacist is a health professional with a detailed knowledge of the products he or she sells. It is always wise to ask your pharmacist about the best product for your needs.

You should become informed about nonprescription products available in your pharmacy and about how to use them wisely.

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Most drug stores encourage their customers to speak to the pharmacist about self-medication. Many Canadians still look upon their pharmacist only as the person who dispenses prescription drugs, but pharmacists consider a part of their professional responsibility to advise customers about nonprescription drugs as well.

In the following section, we will describe some of the major groups of pharmaceutical products that you typically find available for self-medication in a pharmacy. We will also describe some of the nonprescription pharmaceutical products that in many provinces are available only from your pharmacist.



ANALGESICS: Managing minor aches and pains

Pain can and does strike anywhere in the body. Injury, disease or inflammation can irritate the delicate sensory nerves, which then send a volley of impulses to the brain. The result is the sensation of pain.

Pain is a multi-faceted process. Tissue or tissue injury is the most obvious physical stimulus. However, past experience and emotion have very powerful influences on our perception of pain. Other responses can have as much therapeutic effect as drug therapy.

The earliest approaches to pain were trial-and-error. Concoctions from extracts of yucca bark have been used for hundreds, and perhaps even thousands, of years to alleviate pain. Modern science now accepts that extract—acetylsalicylic acid (ASA)—is one of the components of treatment for pain.

Among the other nonprescription pain relievers are acetaminophen and ibuprofen. All are thought to exert their analgesic effect by blocking or preventing pain impulses from reaching the brain. Each has similarities and important differences to ASA. Here's a look at each type of pain reliever.

Acetylsalicylic acid (ASA) exerts its effect by inhibiting the production of chemicals such as prostaglandins that cause pain and inflammation. It also acts on fever by inhibiting prostaglandin production in the brain.

ASA is effective for almost every type of pain including headache, toothache, muscle pain and arthritis. It has a long history as a safe and effective analgesic. However, ASA can have some unwanted effects in a small percentage of people taking this medication. For instance, irritate the stomach, particularly with prolonged use. To minimize the possibility of side effects, consult your physician, dentist or pharmacist before taking ASA if you:

- have liver or kidney problems, asthma, nasal polyps, a blood clotting disorder, or an ulcer;
- are taking other medications such as blood thinning agents, non-steroidal anti-inflammatories, anti-ulcer agents, corticosteroids, drugs for gout, or oral drugs for diabetes;
- are scheduled for any type of surgery, including dental surgery; or
- are pregnant or breast-feeding.

And since ASA has been associated with liver's syndrome in adults, teenagers and young adults, never give ASA for a fever in these cases without first consulting with your doctor.

ASA reaches its peak of effectiveness at a dose of 650 to 1,000 milligrams for adults. Therefore, taking more than two tablets at one time is not recommended. And never exceed the daily maximum dose indicated on the product label.

Acetaminophen Like ASA, acetaminophen is highly effective in relieving pain and inducing fever. While its mechanism of action is still unclear, it is thought to exert its effect on pain sensation in the brain rather than at the site of pain, because it has no effect on chemical processes in the periphery, it has no effect on inflammation.

Acetaminophen is effective as ASA for all types of pain and fever except for pain associated with inflammation as an arthritis. Unlike ASA, acetaminophen is unlikely to cause stomach upset or to affect bleeding, and it has an excellent safety profile in children. However, consult your physician or pharmacist before taking acetaminophen if you:

- have a kidney or liver disorder;
 - are taking other medications such as cholestyramine or antacids;
 - are pregnant or breast-feeding; or
 - regularly consume large amounts of alcohol.
- Acetaminophen also exerts its maximum effect at doses of 650 to 1,000 milligrams and therefore doses larger than that are not recommended.

Ibuprofen Ibuprofen is the newest nonprescription analgesic, although it has been used as a prescription medication since the

early 1970s. While the 200 mg formulation is available as a nonprescription product, many provinces require that pharmacists keep it as a no-public-access item. Ask your pharmacist if ibuprofen might be an appropriate pain reliever for you.

Studies have shown that ibuprofen is more effective than either ASA or acetaminophen for dental pain and dysmenorrhea. But it has the potential for many of the unwanted side effects of ASA. Therefore, take the same precautions with ibuprofen as you would with ASA. In particular, do not take ibuprofen if you are allergic to ASA.

While ibuprofen does not have the same maximum effective dose as ASA or acetaminophen have, take more than 600 mg at one time without the supervision of a physician.

Combination analgesics Both ASA and acetaminophen are available in a wide array of combination products. Most common are products for the common cold where pain relief and fever reduction are thought to be useful adjuncts to the other therapeutic effects of these products.

ASA and acetaminophen are also available in combination with caffeine and/or codeine. The amount of codeine in the products is limited to a maximum of 6 milligrams per dosage form. Since codeine is a narcotic drug, nonprescription pain relievers containing this medication are kept in a no-public-access item in the pharmacy. Your pharmacist can help you select an appropriate combination analgesic for your symptoms.

Analgesics for children Because of the association between Reye's syndrome and ASA in some children, acetaminophen is the preferred treatment for pain and fever in children. However, your physician or pharmacist can advise you on which is best.

Feeding fever in children is probably more important than in adults since around fever can lead to serious complications.

Liquid preparations of acetaminophen are widely available and are probably the most effective way to administer the medication to children. Read labels carefully, however, because different formulations are usually in different concentrations. The package instructions will tell you exactly how much to give to a child.

ASA to prevent heart attacks

Several years ago, a large American study found that ASA reduced the incidence of heart attack among men. U.S. physicians who participated in the study took 325 mg ASA every second day. Since ASA interferes with blood clotting, it is thought to prevent this kind of abnormal blood clot that can lead to a heart attack.

While some physicians recommend ASA to some of their patients to prevent heart attack, it is not yet an approved use for the drug in Canada. It would be inappropriate to self-medicate with ASA for prolonged periods. Long-term use of any medication can be harmful for some individuals. Only your physician can decide if you require preventive therapy for heart attack.

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COUGH AND COLD REMEDIES: Taking care of misery

Despite decades of scientific research, doctors still have no cure for the common cold. But they have come up with ways to deal with the troubling symptoms associated with it.

Non-drug treatments such as bed rest and drinking plenty of fluids are excellent first steps in treating a cold. But when these measures are insufficient, you can turn to medications that will handle most of the common cold symptoms. Here's what you will find in your pharmacy:

Decongestants: Medications to clear sinuses need by reducing the swelling and inflammation of nasal passages and the sinuses and by suppressing the production of mucus. They may also reduce coughing by easing throat irritation.

Decongestants, which are also used to treat symptoms of allergies, should be used only after non-drug measures such as steam inhalation have failed to provide relief.

Epinephrine, phenylephrine, naphazoline, oxymetazoline, and xylometazoline are typical nasal sprays. Epinephrine and phenylephrine are also available in an oral formulation, along with phenylephrine/antacid and pseudoephedrine. The oral formulation may provide a more complete and prolonged

effect than the nasal sprays since it is carried by the blood stream to all parts of your nose and sinuses. There is, however, a slightly greater risk of side effects and interactions with other medications with the oral formulations than with nasal sprays. Since misuse of nasal sprays can lead to a rebound of the symptoms, it is best to use these medications sparingly and only for a short period of time.

Combination products: Buy only what you need

Many nonprescription cold remedies contain several active ingredients. Combinations of antihistamines and cough suppressants or decongestants, for instance, are common, as are acid preparations that contain either H₂ or antacids to relieve the heart and discomfort sometimes associated with a cold.

While these combinations may offer therapeutic convenience when treating a nasty cold, be certain that you are taking only the medications you need. If, for instance, your major cold symptom is a runny nose, what a drug product that contains only an antihistamine or a decongestant — not one that contains a pain reliever or a cough suppressant as well.

Also, always read product labeling and package inserts carefully. They identify what's in the product. That's important not only for deciding if the medication contains the appropriate active ingredients, but also for identifying any ingredient that you may be allergic to or that may react with certain food or with other medications you are taking.

Your pharmacist can help you choose a product that has the appropriate ingredients to treat your cold symptoms.

Antihistamines: Antihistamines are effective agents for treating allergic reactions of all types. However, some of the antihistamines have also proven useful to treat symptoms of the common cold. Histamine causes blood vessels in the nose and eyes to swell, resulting in congestion, increased mucus production and watery discharge. Antihistamines block the effects of histamine and, since they reduce inflammation, soothe coughs associated with colds. Many of the antihistamines cause drowsiness, however, so they should not be taken if you must perform an activity, such as driving, that requires you to be alert.

Each symptom. There are two approaches to cough due to colds. The expectorant guaifenesin makes secretions in the lungs and air passages more fluid and easier to clear. Antitussives such as chlorpheniramine, dextromethorphan, codeine, diphhydramine and camphor ease dry coughs associated with a cold by suppressing the coughing mechanism in the brain.

It is important to select the right cough remedy for your particular cough. If it is bronchospastic, for instance, to select a cough suppressant for a cough associated with fluid secretions in the airways.

UPSET STOMACH REMEDIES: Calming gut reactions

Stomach upsets are usually caused by the excess production of acid in the stomach (acidpepsia), by reflux of the acids (in terms of the stomach) into the esophagus (heartburn), or as a result of damage to the lining of the stomach (ulcer).

Simple therapies such as avoiding spicy foods, alcohol and coffee, all of which are known to increase the secretion of stomach acids, are often all that is necessary to prevent an upset stomach. And a glass of milk can often achieve temporary relief they have occurred. However, when these measures are ineffective, therapy with antacids or other nonprescription stomach remedies is highly effective.

Antacids neutralize stomach acid and thereby ease most of the pain and discomfort associated with an upset stomach. There are four antacid ingredients available in Canada: sodium bicarbonate, calcium carbonate, magnesium salts, and aluminum salts.

Sodium bicarbonate, while a highly effective antacid, has a high sodium concentration and is therefore not recommended for individuals who are on sodium restricted diets, are pregnant or are taking diuretics. Also, you should avoid milk or calcium products with sodium bicarbonate.

Calcium carbonate works rapidly and its antacidulating effects last several hours. However, since a significant portion of the calcium is absorbed, prolonged use of calcium carbonate can lead to constipation.

Magnesium salts and aluminum salts are both effective antacids but one tends to have laxative side effects while the other sometimes causes constipation. Many stomach remedies combine these two ingredients to produce a product that has neither side effect.

Other common nonprescription stomach remedies include mucilagins, simethicone, carminatives, and alginate acid. These agents are technically not antacids since they exert their effect by relieving stomach gases, acting as an astringent, or producing a physical barrier between the stomach contents and the esophagus.

Always use antacids for the temporary relief of an upset stomach. If the problem persists, see your physician since you may have a condition that requires professional care.

Some liquid formulations of stomach remedies may be better than tablets since liquids digest rapidly in the stomach and begin to neutralize stomach acid faster. Tablets, which must be thoroughly chewed before swallowing, are nevertheless effective and have the advantage of portability and convenience if you experience side effects with any particular nonprescription stomach remedy, ask your pharmacist about other products that might be better for you.

Antihistamines considered effective for symptoms of the common cold:

Brompheniramine
Doxanaphthalamine
Diphenhydramine
Pheniramine
Pseudoephedrine
Triprolidine

Chlorpheniramine
Diphenhydramine
Doxanaphthalamine
Pheniramine
Triprolidine

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Over 135 convenient locations across Ontario

TYLENOL® GELCAPS. THE POWER TO STOP PAIN.



Every TYLENOL Gelcap is a powerful, concentrated pain reliever. It is solid strength that's also easy to swallow, thanks to a smooth gelatin coating. It's no wonder that last year more people switched to TYLENOL Gelcaps than any other pain reliever. Now that's power.

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Singer County, MD 21151

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Tips on taking stomach medicines

- Take stomach and other stomach remedies only as recommended by a health professional or as directed on the product label.
- Contact your physician if you experience nausea, vomiting or bothersome diarrhea or constipation after taking antacids.
- Do not give antacids to children. Consult a physician if a child has persistent stomach upset.
- Liquid products should be shaken well before use.
- Tablets must be chewed well before swallowing and followed with a glass of water.
- Effervescent products should be dissolved in water and most of the bubbles allowed to subside before drinking.
- Ask your pharmacist or physician about possible interactions between your stomach remedy and any other medications you might be taking. And never take antacids within one to two hours of taking another medication.

BEHIND-THE-COUNTER MEDICATIONS

Many soon have a new class of nonprescription drugs. Unlike medications available in the pharmacy for self-selection, these will be kept in a pharmacist's area and must be sold by a pharmacist personally.

This will be nothing new to consumers in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. These provinces have had restrictions placed on the sale of certain nonprescription drug products for years.

What will be new is that the no-public-access concept will be legislated federally. Every pharmacy in every province will be required to keep certain medications in the dispensary. And pharmacists are going to play a greater role in counselling consumers about the safe and effective use of their nonprescription medications.

Medications on the proposed no-public-access list include such well-known drugs as the pain-reliever ibuprofen. Others are less well known to Canadians. Many may currently be available for self-selection in your province. Nevertheless, your pharmacist can help you select the best product for you, whether it be available in the self-selection area or behind the counter.

We have compiled a list of some of the medications that consumers should ask their pharmacist about. The list is by no means comprehensive. It is simply a sampling of some of the effective medicines your pharmacist can help you select for home treatment of self-limiting medical conditions.

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HOW DRUGS ARE REGULATED IN CANADA

A medicines sold in Canada have had to meet rigid requirements for safety and efficacy under the federal Food and Drugs Act before being approved for sale. The health protection branch (HPB) of the Department of National Health and Welfare is also responsible for all matters relating to drug manufacturing, quality control and exportation, including standards and regulations relating to advertising and labelling of all drugs.

As part of a review of every drug approved for sale in Canada, HPB determines whether the particular product will be available on a prescription or nonprescription basis. It also requires that certain containing nonprescription medicines, regulated under the federal Narcotics Control Act, be kept in the dispensary and sold by a pharmacist.

Prescription drugs are placed into one of several federal drug schedules, depending upon whether or not their sale is to be restricted in some manner. Nonprescription medicines are not scheduled. Identical OTC simply assigns them a drug identification number (DIN) or general public (GP) number. GP-designated drugs are proprietary medicines for minor self-treating illness that do not require the intervention of a health professional. Drugs in this category undergo minor rigorous study before being approved for marketing in Canada.

Many provinces, however, choose to control the sale of many nonprescription drugs. GP-designated medicines can be sold in most retail outlets in most provinces. DIN-designated medicines are often restricted to sale in pharmacies. British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Ontario, New Brunswick and New Scotia take regulation a step further and restrict some medicines to sale by the pharmacist only. That is, these medicines are placed in a no-public-access area and may be purchased only after consultation with the pharmacist.

Alberta has adopted a new drug scheduling system but has yet to enact it. Quebec is currently considering drug schedules. The remaining provinces have no regulations beyond those imposed federally.

Last year, a Canadian Drug Advisory Committee recommended that the federal government extend their drug scheduling scheme to nonprescription medicines by excluding a category of pharmacist-controlled, nonprescription drugs (NPD) announced in September that it will probably adopt this new schedule. If it does, all pharmacies in Canada will be required to keep certain nonprescription medicines in a no-public-access area and only the pharmacist will be allowed to sell them.

Why have pharmacist-controlled nonprescription medicines?

Consumers recognize that pharmacists are becoming increasingly patient-oriented and that there is a wide array of safe and effective medications available. Many of these medicines, some of which were previously available only with a doctor's prescription, require the pharmacist's expertise regarding their appropriate selection and safe use. The development of the category of pharmacist-controlled medicines simply underlines the importance of professional consultation when seek-

ing supplements about self-medication.

Consider the following factors:

- Some drug products can cause unwanted side effects in certain individuals.
- Pharmacists can help monitor your therapy with a nonprescription medication and can advise you when to try another product or when to seek the advice of your doctor.
- Some products such as analgesics or laxatives must be readily available to patients without a prescription in emergencies or for routine medical therapy, but a pharmacist can control unauthorized use and potentially life-threatening misuse of these products.
- Interactions can occur between your nonprescription drug product and certain foods or other nonprescription or prescription drugs.
- Nonprescription medicines are occasionally low-dose formulations of a prescription medication. Pharmacists can advise you about the limitations of self-medication with a nonprescription product, particularly for medical conditions that may well require a prescription drug.

It's important to keep in mind, however, that placing some medicines behind the counter is not meant to discourage you from buying them. Rather, it is to encourage you to seek full advantage of your pharmacist's professional expertise.

Common no-public-access medicines

Name: Trade name:	Coughier-containing preparations 123 preparations, Anacin with Codeine, Anacin II, Slingshot with Codeine, Paracetamol Codeine CR, Robaxolone II Robaxolone C, Robaxolone with Codeine, Tylenol No.1 Forte, Nyquid, M-C with Codeine, Anacin II	Name: Trade name:	Methocarbamol Acetate, 0.5%, Unisom, Anacin Lotion, Codebaron, Eucerin, Carboxol, Carboxol
Uses:	For the treatment of moderate pain.	Uses:	Temporary relief of minor skin irritation, itching and redness caused by eczema, dermatitis, insect bites, poison ivy, poison oak, sunburn, dandruff, sunburn and jewelry.
Name: Trade name:	Codeine Nyquid, Nyquid	Name: Trade name:	Robaxolone Robaxolone, Robaxolone, Robaxolone
Uses:	To relieve itching in most types of dermatitis, eczema, dermatitis, contact dermatitis, etc.	Uses:	Temporary relief of moderate pain, headache, minor aches and pains in muscles, bones and joints, fever and headache.
Name: Trade name:	Diphenhydramine Gralen, Apo-Diphenhydramine, Novallergene, PMS Diphenhydramine, Tervelone, Tervel No. 1, Tervel No. 2, Tervel No. 3, Tervel No. 4, Tervel No. 5, Tervel No. 6, Tervel No. 7, Tervel No. 8, Tervel No. 9, Tervel No. 10, Tervel No. 11, Tervel No. 12, Tervel No. 13, Tervel No. 14, Tervel No. 15, Tervel No. 16, Tervel No. 17, Tervel No. 18, Tervel No. 19, Tervel No. 20, Tervel No. 21, Tervel No. 22, Tervel No. 23, Tervel No. 24, Tervel No. 25, Tervel No. 26, Tervel No. 27, Tervel No. 28, Tervel No. 29, Tervel No. 30, Tervel No. 31, Tervel No. 32, Tervel No. 33, Tervel No. 34, Tervel No. 35, Tervel No. 36, Tervel No. 37, Tervel No. 38, Tervel No. 39, Tervel No. 40, Tervel No. 41, Tervel No. 42, Tervel No. 43, Tervel No. 44, Tervel No. 45, Tervel No. 46, Tervel No. 47, Tervel No. 48, Tervel No. 49, Tervel No. 50, Tervel No. 51, Tervel No. 52, Tervel No. 53, Tervel No. 54, Tervel No. 55, Tervel No. 56, Tervel No. 57, Tervel No. 58, Tervel No. 59, Tervel No. 60, 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Waisewski: "When you have a run that's this long, you start to wonder whether it could be over tomorrow."

BUSINESS

HAPPY TRADERS

By the time he received his undergraduate commerce degree from the University of Toronto in 1983, Mark Waisewski had made up his mind about a career. Months after many of his classmates had found jobs in accounting or corporate marketing, he was still calling on Bay Street investment dealers trying to land a job as a bond trader. Recall Waisewski, now a top trader at investment dealer Nestlé Thomson Inc. in Toronto. "I finally had to offer to work for nothing before they would hire me." Although he declines to reveal his current income, most traders at his caliber can expect to earn at least \$400,000 this year. Even so, Waisewski says that it gives him that the bond market is still a viable public asset.

"People do not understand the market," he complains. "My own mother still thinks that I have something to do with Canada Savings Bonds."

CANADA'S BOND DEALERS ENJOY A LUCRATIVE YEAR THANKS TO THE RECENT PLUNGE IN INTEREST RATES

well-informed investors. In the first nine months of this year, the average return on government and corporate bonds in Canada, as measured by a weekly quoted industry index that takes into account bond prices as well as annual yields, rose by 30 per cent. By contrast, the Toronto Stock Exchange's total returns index, which measures both stock prices and

dividend, increased by half that amount in the same period. At the same time, Canadian government and corporate bonds have increased in value faster this year than bonds in every other industrialized country except Australia. Says Gordon Christensen, president of Scotia-McLeod Inc., of Toronto, one of the country's largest bond dealers: "It has been a truly phenomenal year."

The bond market's strength is primarily a result of the domestic plunge in interest rates over the past 12 months. Since May, 1989, the Bank of Canada has lowered its benchmark bank rate to 7.75 per cent from 14.00 per cent in an effort to help the struggling economy out of recession. The bank's governor, John Crow, clearly believes that lower borrowing costs will spur new business investment and consumer spending. The drop in borrowing costs has also made older bonds more attractive to investors because they pay higher interest rates than bonds now being issued. Says Christensen: "It is a percent, but everything that has been bad

for the economy has been good for the bond market."

Unfortunately for bond traders, too much of a good thing can erode profits. On Nov. 7, the Bank of Canada surprised investors by lowering the bank rate by almost a third of a percentage point, a sharper cut than most observers had expected. For most Canadians, any decline in borrowing costs is a welcome development. But foreign investors, worried about the potential impact of drastically low rates on the Canadian dollar, reacted by selling Canadian bonds and other investments. By last week, most investors appeared to have regained confidence in Canadian bonds, and prices rebounded. "When you have a run of this magnitude for this long," said Waisewski, "people get a little nervous. They don't want to lose it all."

Although few novice investors follow the bond market closely, it is far larger than the stock market by almost any measure. During the first eight months of this year, \$337 billion worth of government and corporate bonds changed hands in Canada. By contrast, the total value of company shares traded in Canada during the same period was only \$98 billion. The bond market itself operates according to several simple principles. To raise money, companies and governments sell bonds that pay a fixed annual rate of interest until a designated future date. When the bond matures, the issuer must repay the principal amount of the loan. Companies frequently prefer to issue bonds rather than new shares because doing so allows them to avoid diluting their ownership.

Unlike Canada Savings Bonds, a conventional bond cannot be cashed in by its holder before its maturity date. Instead, investors who no longer want their bonds can sell them on the open market, at prices that fluctuate according to prevailing interest rates. When rates fall, as they have this year, the price of existing bonds must rise because they offer higher returns than newly issued bonds. But when interest rates

rise, bond prices fall. In effect, the price of a bond rises or falls with its yield—a combination of interest rate, bond price and maturity date—whichever the issuer or investor, newly issued bonds (so-called junk bonds, which carry a higher degree of risk because they are issued by companies whose financial positions are comparatively weak, are not traded on the conventional bond market.)

Over the years, bond trading has grown increasingly complex as new types of bonds are invented to cater to different kinds of investors and investors. Meanwhile, traders themselves have developed a wide assortment of trading strategies. Waisewski, for one, specializes in "arbitrage" or "strip" bonds. These are bonds that have been stripped of their interest coupons so that they no longer pay an annual rate of return. Because of that, they sell for much less than their face values, and their prices fluctuate dramatically whenever interest rates go up or fall. Explains Waisewski: "You get a huge degree of leverage." Another attraction for investors is the fact that zero-coupon bonds require a relatively small initial investment. For example, a zero-coupon bond that in 30 years' time would be worth \$1 million would sell for about \$12,000 today, based on a prevailing interest rate of 12 per cent. If rates fell, the same bond would be worth substantially more—but its value could drop sharply if rates began to rise.

The introduction of sophisticated computer and communication technology has also changed the face of the bond market. In the past, bond traders relied on experience and gut instinct to predict the market's response to everything from bad unemployment statistics to rumors that a leading political figure had been shot. Now, dozens of big-league trading houses that have been around since the 1920s to trade for his own account now. It recalls the old style of trading with telephone affiliates. "We were businessmen in the old days," recalls Quaglin, president of Moneta Corp. of Toronto. "But it was not as volatile as this. The market did not move as violently against you."

Now, most traders follow a so-called value approach. Instead of focusing almost exclusively on government bonds, as most bond traders, they analyze each issuer's liabilities carefully and search for big disparities among bond prices. Armed with that information, they attempt to sell the bonds they believe are overvalued and buy others that appear undervalued. An asset, bond dealers are hiring traders with strong mathematical skills and the ability to discern subtle changes in value that, because of the immense scale of most transactions, can yield huge profits. Among the traders at

Business Notes

INFLATION PLUMMETS

The annual inflation rate fell from 5.6 per cent in September to 4.4 per cent in October, its lowest level in a year. The index rose sharply after the introduction last January of the seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax, but has been declining since then.

A TEMPORARY REPRISE

To offset the impact of a planned five-percent increase in postal rates on Jan. 1, Canada Post Corp. will deliver 40-cent coupons to night mailboxes next month. Customers can use the coupons, valid until March 31, towards the purchase of 50-cent first-class stamps. A first-class stamp now costs 40 cents.

LOOK OUT BELOW

The New York City-based Dow Jones average of 30 industrial stocks posted its biggest one-day loss in two years, falling 128.21 points to close the week at 2,943.38. The Toronto 300 Composite Stock Exchange 300 composite index had reached its highest level in 1990, 3,054.09. But at week's end, the TSX also declined sharply, falling 90.4 points on Friday to close at 3,125.6.

COVERING THE DOME

The Ontario government sold its \$1-per-cent stake in the money-losing Toronto SkyDome to a consortium of eight private companies. The group agreed to pay \$110 million in cash and some long-term debentures payable to the province, with a current value estimated at about \$90 million. The stadium was originally budgeted at \$130 million, but actually cost \$240 million.

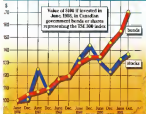
A BLANK CHECK

The city of Winnipeg and the province of Manitoba have agreed in principle to cover any losses accrued by the Winnipeg Jets NHL hockey franchise until 1997, in return for a guaranteed annual payment to keep the team in Winnipeg until then. The team's financial problems had raised fears that it would be sold to U.S. investors, possibly in Milwaukee or San Diego. Local business interests have also agreed to help pay the team's management costs.

BANK RAISES INTEREST

The Bank of Canada raised its lending rate for the first time in 10 weeks, to 7.75 per cent from 7.50 per cent the week before. The central bank shifted direction to bolster the Canadian dollar, which in a few days of trading had fallen more than a cent against its U.S. counterpart, to 85.5 cents.

A BULLISH BOND MARKET



Goldman Sachs and Co. in New York City who specialize in Canadian bonds are two people who were educated in physics and one who has a degree in sociology, says Russi Muzga, a 42-year-old former trader who now manages Scotiabank's U.S. bond sales department. "They are trying to develop people with trading acumen who also have a mathematical bent."

But old traditions die hard. As in the past, the most successful bond traders place themselves on their aggressive nature and their ability to make quick decisions on the spur of the moment under constant pressure. James Korman, president of Goldman Sachs' Canadian subsidiary, worked briefly as a trader before becoming a bond salesman, responsible for advising the firm's large institutional clients on their investments. He says that he evolved to take after deciding that he was not tough enough to succeed as a trader. Still Korman says, "My opinion was that I was able to see the other side. I was able to be convinced of another person's position."

The stresses of bond trading, including the danger of losing millions of dollars in an investment firm's name, are indeed formidable. Still, most traders say that the exhilaration of seeing at such huge sums every day is worth the pressure. Says Korman: "It's an enormous high. You do not need drugs if you can trade bonds." Morgan, for his part, expresses regret about the time his company asked him to give up trading and become a salesman. "They practically had to drag me away from my desk," he adds.

Not surprisingly, traders are as fiercely competitive about their incomes as they are about conducting a successful trade. Most earn only a modest annual salary, supplemented by a bonus that is awarded by their employer each year based on each trader's performance and the profits generated by his department or firm.



Cheerstrong: a phenomenal year

"Money is their report card, the yardstick by which they judge themselves," says Korman. Scotiabank's Cherstrong, a former bond trader who has been on both sides of the pay equation that take place each fall as the investment dealers close their books, says that it is the worst time of the year. "They get as emotional over it," he adds. "It is as though you are getting a dollar value on the person and seeing, 'You're worth this, you're not worth that.' What a horrible way to price yourself

every year." Declared another senior Bay Street bond-department manager: "I just had a 38-year-old in my office pulling at me because he was only going to make \$400,000 this year."

In fact, many traders appear to have concluded that the good times will not last much longer. "People are being very cautious this year," says Whisenand. "When you have a run like this long, you start to look over your shoulder and wonder whether it could be over tomorrow. The economy might go better and bonds might turn a little sour and we might have to dig in for a little bit." As a result, he says, many traders are seeing their bonuses rather than expecting an increase spending bonus.

Despite the managers' complaints, the best Canadian bond traders still are considerably less than their U.S. counterparts, whose bonuses have been checked in best-selling books such as Tom Wolfe's 1987 novel, *The Bonfire of the Vanities*. Last year, the 28-year-old Whisenand Inc. in New York, Lawrence Hillier, passed time by receiving \$23 million in salary and bonuses for his efforts.

By contrast, Canadian investment dealers say that they are more inclined to spend trading profits around a large group of people on the grounds that traders are heavily dependent upon fellow employees—including researchers and other traders—to make money. By most accounts, the highest-paid bond traders on Bay Street make between \$700,000 and \$900,000 a year when the market is strong.

But Whisenand is not complaining. "This is the greatest job," he said. "You have the ability to invest this much money into an idea, and when you actually make a big profit, it's almost, it's incredible—there's nothing like it." And for traders, few years have been more profitable than 1991.

BYRON DALLGREN

FOREIGN BUYERS SHOP CANADIAN

The rare private meeting was aimed at investors, foreign investors that Canada considers to be the most important source of funds for their money. In Ottawa last month, Finance Minister Donald Macdonald, Bank of Canada governor John Crow and as many as eight government officials sat down with 40 major U.S. leaders to brief them on Ottawa's economic plans and answer questions about the country's problems. The list that these leaders, most of whom represent large multinational corporations such as pension funds, travelled to Ottawa for the briefing sales pitch underscores the importance of Canada in international debt markets.

Foreign lenders have been attracted to Canadian bonds by relatively high interest rates and the strong Canadian dollar, both

products of Crow's unyielding fight against inflation. In the first half of 1991, the interest period for which figures are available, foreign investors purchased 127 billion worth of Canadian government and corporate bonds, almost as much as they bought in all of 1990. Says John Korman, president of the Toronto-based Canadian subsidiary of Goldman Sachs and Co., one of the largest international debt dealers: "When I look at this leading it aggregates, it is a mind-boggling. It has been a landmark year for the ability of Canada to finance itself globally." Foreigners—mostly in the United States, Europe and Japan—now own 38 per cent of all Canadian bonds.

The surge of foreign investment is taking place while many Canadians are pessimistic about the country's future. But bond dealers, whose income depends in part on their ability to sell Canadian bonds, express every different view. According to Korman: "The better view you get from Canada, the healthier its position seems compared with those of other countries." Added Sherry Cooper, manager of bond sales

at Bova Inc. in Toronto: "There is no use in the world more bullish on Canada than Canadians."

But foreign investors can withdraw from the Canadian marketplace just as quickly and dramatically as they entered it. Paul Korman, 41, a New York resident, says his firm has been in New York for 10 years in business in Canada and they start to look off debt, interest rates will have to go up dramatically. "And Canadians, heavily dependent on foreign revenues to finance large public debts, will have little choice but to pay the higher cost of financing."

In the meantime, however, Canadian bond dealers are driving on Crow's tight monetary policies. Added Korman: "I guess we have to thank the governments of Canada for giving us the opportunity to sell all this Canadian debt." For local dealers, at least, Ottawa's large and growing debt issues with as attractive a silver lining.

B.D.

Cash on the line

Customers are paying for goods by computer

Like many consumers, Ottawa hotel executive Maureen McNaney says that she prefers to carry only small amounts of cash. She also tries to limit her use of credit cards because of the high interest rates charged on outstanding balances. Last year, the 28-year-old McNaney finally discovered an alternative form of paying for her shopping—a local pilot project that allows consumers to pay for their purchases without using credit cards, cheques or cash. Now, when McNaney goes shopping at participating stores, she merely holds her bank card to the merchant and pushes her confidential personal identification number—the same number she uses to withdraw cash from automated banking machines—into a computer located near the store's cash register. The money needed to pay for her purchases is then automatically deducted from McNaney's bank account and deposited into the account of the retailer—about the cost of a daily newspaper. Says McNaney: "I use it in the liquor store, grocery stores and boutiques. I use it all the time. I just love it."

Consumers at other parts of the country will



McNaney: "I just love it!"

soon have an opportunity to judge the direct-payment system for themselves. Interac, a Toronto-based organization that represents most of Canada's financial institutions, last week announced that it plans to extend the Ottawa pilot project to consumers in British Columbia and Quebec next September, and to shoppers throughout the rest of Canada over the following two years. But some retailers caution that the system will neither bolster bank profits at the expense of consumers and retailers, all of whom must pay fees to use the service. Such fees will likely range up to about 25 cents for each transaction, with additional charges to retailers for the use of computer terminals and telephone lines. Critics also charge that the direct-payment system could be used by banks to gather sensitive information on consumers and their spending habits. "I think there's a privacy issue here," says Harry Campbell, a Canadian Tire store manager in downtown Ottawa who has decided not to take part in the direct-payment system. "They can get an awful lot of information with this thing."

Despite such reservations, Interac president Derek Fry insists that the system is both popular with consumers and a boon for retailers. Nearly 100,000 of the 400,000 bank-card holders in the Ottawa region have used it regularly since Interac launched the project in October, 1990. And the number of retailers who participate in the network has doubled to 2,100 this month from about 1,000 a year ago. Those thousands are about 140 fast-food restau-

If You're In The Market For A Better World, Read This.

➤ Choosing products that are less harmful to the environment is something many Canadians want to do. But it's not always easy. ➤ How a product is made, how much energy it uses and who to believe are all vital questions. We can help. ➤ We at Environmental Choice are an impartial body established by the Government of Canada to help you find products that are less harmful to the environment. ➤ We combine the environmental impact of various types of products. Our work

begins with a scientific assessment of the ways a product is made, used and disposed of. ➤ Only select products that meet our criteria can carry the Environmental Choice symbol of certification, the EcoLogo. ➤ This symbol appears along with a brief statement of the reason why the product has been selected as a good environmental choice. ➤ So take a step in the right direction. Look for the EcoLogo on a growing number of products. You can make a difference.



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Great hosts can use a silent partner.

BUSINESS

costs to grocers, liquor stores and bars/restaurants.

Consumers benefit from the network, Fry says, because it is "as confidential as cash, and quicker than cheques." Besides, he adds, given the advantages of "same-day deposit of funds, low handling of cash, no time wasted taking customer identification and no many cheques that bounce." In fact, without adequate funds as a customer's account, transactions will be declined by the system.

For their part, consumer advocates are largely supportive of the new service. Says Doreen Guthrie, a project director for the Consumers Association of Canada: "An additional payment option is a good thing, provided that it is in addition to, and not a replacement for, cheques, credit cards or cash."

Some retailers in the Ottawa area have high praise for the new service. Declares Timothy Hodgson, manager of Fisher's Bookies, a fishing-tackle store in west-end Ottawa: "It is worth its weight in platinum." Adds Hodgson: "It is faster than any other card that I have used and it is very convenient—especially for end-of-day balancing." For his part, Ottawa jeweller Bill Thompson says: "With this system, we do not have to spend any time on the phone checking card balances. It is working very well."

Still, others contend that banks and trust companies will reap the most benefit from the service. By 1994, nearly all of Canada's 13.5 million bank-card holders will be able to use the system. While the change to consumers will be less than current service fees for writing cheques, retailers will face the cost of renting a terminal—as much as \$40 a month—and a telephone line for data transmissions. Says Mel Frothingham, vice-president of the Retail Council of Canada: "As far as we can see, the main beneficiaries are the financial institutions."

Fry acknowledges that the banks, which have been the targets of widespread criticism in recent years because of rising service fees, are not pursuing the project "out of the goodness of our hearts." But he adds that bank members have spent hundreds of millions of dollars on the Ottawa pilot project and that the fees for using the service are reasonable given the banks' costs. Fry also says that concerns about invasion of privacy are unfounded. The personal identification numbers—which consumers enter themselves on a hand-held electronic keypad—are as well as all other information about customers, is regarded as private and is supposed to be kept confidential by financial institutions, he says.

Direct-payment service is already available in France, Belgium and parts of the United States, such as California, where it has proven to be popular. But in spite of its growing success, few analysts expect that it will lead directly to a cash-free society. Says the retail council's Frothingham: "We may ultimately see cheques disappear. But cash? Not likely." That prediction stands in stark contrast to the many Canadians who still value the crisp feel of cold, hard cash.

GLEN ALLAN in Ottawa

Constitutional reform is about many things.

But mostly it's about you.

As Canadians, we are now facing one of the most important challenges in our history. Proposals have been put forward by the Government of Canada to improve our constitution. These proposals, for a more united and prosperous Canada in which all Canadians can feel at home, are currently being reviewed by a special parliamentary committee. They will also be considered by a series of Conferences run by independent Canadian organizations.

Some of the proposals include:

- ◆ a Canada clause that speaks of our hopes and dreams as Canadians: our values, our diversity, our tolerance and our generosity of spirit

- ◆ recognizing the right of aboriginal peoples to govern themselves while being protected by Canadian law
- ◆ ensuring recognition of Quebec's distinctiveness and of minority language groups
- ◆ reforming the Senate to make it elected, effective and much more equitable than it is now
- ◆ strengthening Canada's economic union so Canadians can work and conduct business anywhere in the country
- ◆ guaranteeing property rights.

Get involved and find out more about how these proposals will shape the future of Canada, call toll free:



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Canada
Shaping Canada's Future Together



Killing us softly with open-skies initiatives

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Ever since air travel forced commercial, Canadians have had good reason to be proud of their airlines, which transformed the idea of a transcontinental state into a 20th-century reality. A modern version of the railways that first allowed the country to evolve into a community, Air Canada and Canadian Airlines International Ltd. (and their voraciously rented predecessors) have earned their pride of place among the world's best national carriers.

But that's all about to change. Although no one in Ottawa will officially admit it, the Mulroney government's free trade agenda means to have included in its treaties provisions for the total deregulation of cross-border air traffic. The consequences will be drastic. Chances are the "open-skies" policy being advanced by Transport Minister Jean Corbett at a bilateral meeting in Denver in December will transform our once proud airlines into ordinary market leader competitors with major American carriers, with Air Canada becoming part of the USair network and Canadian Airlines likely associating itself with American Airlines.

In the process, two more of the few remaining East-West institutions keeping this country together could be weakened beyond recognition. The comparative ease of Air Canada and Canadian Airlines when stacked up against their U.S. counterparts is one reason for this concern. The two Canadian airlines combined are not as large as USair, the seventh-largest American carrier.

Our transport minister and his counterpart, U.S. Transport Secretary Samuel Skinner, are fully committed to negotiating what they call "an open region—the liberalization of the U.S.-Canada Air Agreement." And Ottawa is going along with the deal, no matter how it affects our airlines—and our sovereignty.

What that means is nothing less than unrestricted access for U.S. airlines in Canadian airspace, allowing them to carry freight and passengers between Canadian airports, such as

The Mulroney government free trade deal is deregulating cross-border air traffic. The consequences will be drastic.

the lucrative Toronto-to-Montreal route, a right now reserved only to domestic airlines. While Canada's airlines would be granted a *quid pro quo* access, it would hardly make up for the reciprocal privileges America of the business have such an agreement might cause, Ottawa has already hinted that it might allow foreign carriers to invest in Canadian airlines beyond the 10-per-cent equity limit currently in force.

If such proposals sound drastic, it's because the current U.S.-Canada Air Agreement, negotiated in 1986 (and updated in 1970), is obsolete, and airlines on both sides of the border are drowning in red ink. At the moment, the American carriers account for something like two-thirds of the revenues from scheduled transborder flights. While Canada's airlines are unhappy with the current arrangement, they don't want unrestricted free trade in air travel either.

Canadian Airlines is particularly opposed to the idea. "The potential damage for the Canadian industry of letting U.S. carriers fly between two Canadian cities is far greater than the upside of Canadian cities being permitted to fly between U.S. cities," insists Kevin Jenkins, the company's president.

Even before any formal transborder accord is reached, U.S. airlines have been making serious inroads here. Within the past year, Delta Airlines has acquired the Toronto-Pittsburgh run, American has increased its flights into Canada to 36 from 21 per day; USair has started Toronto-to-Pittsburgh and Montreal-to-Baltimore services; United Airlines and Alaska Airlines are in the process of expanding their service into Canada. American recently spent \$130 million acquiring Canadian landing rights from defunct Eastern Airlines, while USair has moved to a major way into Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto.

If the Americans were particularly anxious to conquer our airspace, it's because they need the business. In the past dozen years, 20 major U.S. airlines, including such overseas giants as Eastern, Continental Airlines, Pan American World Airways and Republic Airlines have gone bankrupt or moved under Chapter 11 protection.

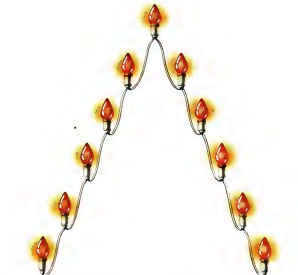
In 1990, the world's airlines ranked in the worst profit performance since the Second World War, and 1991 is expected to be even worse. Blame for the dismal picture is placed on a combination of higher fuel prices, travel disruptions due to the Gulf War, overcapacity that created too many airlines and, in Canada's case, the GST.

By the end of the decade or sooner, the American airline industry will be located to less than half a dozen mega-firms—with struggling to survive. In that kind of environment, Canada, which accounts for less than two per cent of the world's air traffic, hardly counts. We just can't seem to become competitive. One set of estimates, never contradicted by Air Canada, for example, claims that its average costs are up to 20 per cent higher than the U.S. equivalent. As late as 1989, such Air Canada employees contributed \$5,000 to the company's bottom line, while the comparable figure at American Airlines was \$11,450.

Despite route cancellations, equipment cutbacks and severe reductions in executive staff and flight crews (even at Montreal head office has been sold to Hydro-Québec), Air Canada expects to post a record loss this year. It was \$126 million in the red for the first three quarters of 1991. Canadian Airlines is a little better off, with a loss of \$69 million for the first three quarters of the year and on tomorrow's night. Indeed, Canadian Airlines announced that it would lay off 1,300 more employees by the end of the year.

If Ottawa has its way in the transborder negotiations and U.S. carriers enter the Canadian market virtually unimpeded, we may end up with one national carrier, instead of two. That would mean the end of domestic competition (no more east/west), the loss of nearly 10,000 jobs (Air Canada now employs about 26,000 people; Canadian about 15,000), and lost revenues would measure roughly \$2,000 million. Because no government would likely risk the political fallout from such a draconian decision, it's doubtful if the two carriers will be allowed to merge—a step either is advocating.

Yet it could happen. But having one airline would still be better than having none.



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Toronto nurses at work in Canada, making do will depend on careful planning

HEALTH

Cross-border checklist

Two countries re-evaluate their health care

More political polling is so common that when a prediction proves wrong, analysts rush to find out why. That happened after the Nov. 5 U.S. Senate election in Pennsylvania when die-hard Democrat Harris Wofford defeated Republican Richard Thornburgh. A subsequent poll conducted by the Harvard School of Public Health and the Massachusetts polling firm Kist, Conover & Associates revealed a factor that had evidently misled pollsters: it showed that 64 per cent of people who had voted for Wofford listed "national health insurance" as one of their major causes. Despite the fact that Americans spend \$2.3 billion a day on health care, 15 per cent of the population—34 million people—have no health insurance. And Wofford clearly knew this. Thornburgh's criticism of Canada's universal health-care system, which some American advocates of reform have recommended as a model for U.S. policy "Canadian have died," he declared, "because they were forced to treat their own for nothing."

The raging U.S. debate over health care is taking place at a time when Canada's system is suffering increasing strain. Earlier this month, the Ontario Hospital Association announced that the 204 hospitals in the province are facing

massive job cuts and bed closures because the provincial government cannot provide the \$690 million needed to maintain the current level of services. And last week the B.C. Royal Commission on Health Care and Costs released a report outlining more than 320 recommendations, many of which emphasized the need to redesign health-care funds to provide more effective services. Said Dennis Tansfield, president of the Toronto-based Ontario Hospital Association and a former Conservative provincial health minister: "I think we have seen the end of as we sit. Now, we're in one where the system is going to be a lot longer and a lot more very tough decisions have to be made."

At the root of the problems in Canada are changes in federal health-care policy and the increased use of the system by a steadily growing population of elderly people. In 1990, the federal government announced that it was freezing some transfer payments to the provinces for two years, and that year's federal budget estimated that freeze to 1995. By taking these steps, the Conservative government put more of the responsibility for the funding of health care on the provinces.

Meanwhile, the recession, which has affected Ontario with particular severity, also depressed the rate in health care. In a speech to

1,000 delegates of the annual Ontario Hospital Association conference in Toronto last week, government Treasurer Floyd Laughren said that the recession had cost the provincial government \$3.8 billion in last year's revenue. "Budgets will not increase in income anywhere near the 9.5 per cent they received this year," he added. "It's simply not possible." Tansfield said that his association is preparing for last year and this year a total loss of about 3,000 beds and 8,000 support jobs. But what is clear from last week's events at both Ontario and British Columbia is that alongside with the funding that provinces and levels will depend on careful planning between health-care employees and the provincial governments. Laughren closed last week to work

closely with those workers. As well, the B.C. royal commission report stressed the need for a co-ordinated strategy. Among the recommendations were the creation of an independent health council to develop goals for the health-care system and determine whether those goals are being met. It also recommended decentralizing the system and devolving the province into regions to ensure that health needs are filled. B.C. Health Minister Elizabeth Cull said that the report "provides a very significant challenge—to provide better health care for all British Columbians within the ability of B.C.'s taxpayers."

In the United States, within two days of the Pennsylvania election, Rhode Island Senator John Chafee, chairman of the Republican task force on health care, announced a plan to reform the U.S. health-care system. The proposal, he said, would cost \$170 billion over five years and would help nearly 10 million Americans obtain health insurance, while at the same time controlling costs. It would provide tax relief for the purchase of health insurance, increase funding for community health centres and provide incentives for doctors who agree to practice in rural areas. As Chafee made his statement, White House sources speculated that President George Bush would present a new health-care program during next year's presidential election—an idea that he had not planned to address until 1993.

But these news stories noted that although the Pennsylvania outcome had certainly focused Bush's attention on health insurance, the President still remained firmly opposed to a government-run health-insurance system similar to Canada's. Clearly, then, the U.S. debate in Canada and the United States events that neither country can afford to leave things as they are.

NORM UNDERWOOD with WILLIAM LEWIS/ABC in Washington and James

SPORTS

The CFL's future

Grey Cup week is a boon to Winnipeg

Winnipeg dentist Neville Winograd, 68, says football for him has been a lifelong passion. He played the sport in a high-school stadium in his city, and he has held Blue Bombers season tickets since 1948. He has travelled to see his Montreal and Vancouver to attend all

October, when Detroit developer Howard Cashman bought the team for an estimated \$3 million.

But even club owners and their executives must that they are still optimistic about the future of the league, and are even considering expansion. Last July, the owners set up a

committee only two points apart. Arguably best coach

Adrian Rizzo said that the CFL has become a high-costing league dominated by offense. He added that an average of every team scored 30 points per game, the equivalent of three converted touchdowns.

For their part, most of the owners claim that the league's financial position is improving, even if some of the clubs are losing money. Penn said that he losses in 1990 declined by \$100,000 from the \$2.2 million he lost in 1989. In his 1990 year-end report, said Louis Glickman, 25, said that his father, Bernard, bought the Ottawa club because he saw it as an under-valued asset. Said Glickman: "We're getting in at a good time. The club is on its way back."

While the owners are looking on the league's long-term prospects, Winnipeggers are concentrating on Grey Cup week. Many say that city officials are expecting an influx of visitors from northwestern Ontario and across the Prairies. The game itself is also expected to be sold out, even though the Blue Bombers added 10,000 temporary seats to bring the stadium's capacity to almost 52,000.

As the Grey Cup festivities got under way, the weather was the only potential spoiler on the horizon. League officials and civic organizations were hoping to avoid a repeat of a late-October cold snap that forced many fans to leave Prairie provinces. Clearly, foul weather and a poor game are not what the city wants, or needs, for its premier event.

Although the expansion committee is still in the preliminary stages of its work, some owners



Argonaut star Ralph (Rocket) Bennett (center) in action options

seven-member committee to explore the possibility of adding franchises in Quebec, Atlantic Canada and even the United States. Winnipeg general manager Cal Murphy, a member of the committee, said that potential investors from Portland, Ore., the Detroit area and St. Petersburg, Fla., have contacted the committee in Toronto. Murphy added that the committee has decided to avoid detailed discussions with interested outsiders until it has drafted terms and guidelines for expansion.

Although the expansion committee is still in the preliminary stages of its work, some owners

say that the league must grow, and that the United States is one of the best markets for new franchises. Penn said that he is convinced that the CFL should expand in time for the 1993 season. He added that the league would have to export the Canadian game, with three downs instead of four and a larger field, to distinguish it from the game played in the National Football League. Penn also acknowledged that the CFL's impact rules, which stipulate that a certain number of players on each team must be Canadian, would be a major obstacle to U.S. expansion.

Although expansion is a complex issue, league executives say that they are confident that the CFL can flourish in the United States and even make a comeback in Canada, because most of the teams are capable of playing exciting, high-quality football. Bennett head coach Ron Lancaster pointed out that the top three teams in the West—Edmonton, Calgary and Saskatchewan—were the only ones to finish the season with winning records.

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BY ARCY JENKIN



Moral, legal and media responsibility

BY GEORGE BAIN

What led to the train of thought that follows was a piece in the Oct. 28 issue of *Maclean's* about a 46-year-old black woman who took a complaint to the Workers' Compensation Board of Ontario about the sexual and racial harassment she said she had been subjected to over a period of six years at her factory job. Eventually, she suffered a nervous breakdown.

Here are the lines that left a large question hanging in the air—my ask, in any case: "The woman . . . worked at a packing line and said that men there would frequently leave obscene drawings in her locker, make racist and sexist remarks and (once) gave her a piece of soap carved in the form of a penis. Despite a complaint to her union and to the company's management, the woman said that she received little support . . ." In June, 1996, in a pension-entitlement decision, the Workers' Compensation Board hearing officer ordered the company to pay an out-of-pocket amount for attorneys' fees that stemmed from the stress of enduring sexual harassment on the job.¹

The question: What about the union? Although it is a fact only last night of these days, not many by now leaders, the primary function of unions is not political action but direct protection of the interests of their members in the workplace. If that protection is confined to negotiating with the employer over pay and hours of work, the unions certainly do not acknowledge it. The claim that members pay their unions are supposed to help them more than that, and the unions themselves must that negotiating over money and money-related fringe benefits is not all they do, conditions of work are no important part of it. If that is so, the woman here was cheated. The right not to be sexually or otherwise harassed in the shop floor surely comes under the heading of conditions of work.

Yes, you, agreed. The company has the legal obligation to provide a safe and healthy workplace. In fact, in many ways the law sees to it

Unions insist that negotiating over money and fringe benefits is not all they do. If that is so, the woman here was cheated.

that the company does so—for example, by requiring that dangerous machines are equipped with guards against the worst dangers, by buying safety vests about handling hazardous materials, by setting standards to ensure sufficient light and air, and the like. And then, of course, there is the fund established by the Workers' Compensation Board out of premiums levied upon employers from which payouts are made to workers when harm does come to them. (It was the fund from which the woman in this case, in a customary service-sector case, was compensated, not the company directly, as *Maclean's* reported.)

The fund is called the Accident Fund, which makes fairly clear what the components of workers' compensation law are—industrial accidents. It is reasonable that most industrial accidents are caused by machines, sometimes by an error on the part of a person other than the injured one, but rarely by anyone's deliberate act. What befell the woman here was sexual, in the strictest sense of the term, and so accidental. It is not apparent what the company or any company—could have done to prevent it, except perhaps to have joined general unions saying that anyone found to have harassed another worker, sexually or racially, would be

instantly dismissed. A likely result of that, if the company tried to enforce it, would be loud cries of "hunger for cash," and in silent protest. It is also possible that, while management may have been lethargic about looking into the woman's complaint, it was not the general manager or other executives of the company who harassed her. For that, the likely-seeming place to look would be to her fellow workers—and even members—on the packing line.

Once more, agreed, the employer has responsibility for the workplace, and the legal argument is complete with that. The other argument, which the woman herself must have subscribed to, become she complained to her union as well as to management, is that the union had a responsibility, too. If nothing else, it could have gone to management, formally, as the union, and said that one of its members was being harassed and that something—of sufficiently serious, it might even have suggested what—must be done. The union was closer to the matter than management. It might even itself have convened a hearing of all the male members of the local to tell them—actually, in a formal manner—that making obscene drawings and carvings from the company's product with which to seduce a customer on the line was not in keeping with enlightened unionism in the 1990s. It would not be too much to do. Certainly the Public Service Alliance of Canada went back after its strike against the government led of threats about what it was going to do to members who had not supported the strike. But the more there, if course, was union solidarity, and not simply a women worker's having been harassed.

The company involved was identified in the *Maclean's* piece—Colgate-Palmolive Canada Inc. The union was not. Ten phone calls turned up just that it was the Canadian Confederation of Trade Unions and, specifically, the Chemical Energy and Allied Workers Division Local 909, Desautels Phillips spokesman.

Q: How come the union didn't take up the matter in her behalf?

A: Well, it was a mixed-up situation. The person she accused, she said, had no proof. The person she accused is also black. So, with regard to the first thing, I don't know. So, that's basically the situation.

Q: You say it was only one person? The story said it was "person" plural, and that it went on for six years. But there was, to your knowledge, only one person that was ever identified?

A: Basically speaking, yes. But there's a lot more to a fact . . . (pause). Really and truly speaking, I haven't got time now, but when you say "really," the thing was that the fellow she charged was black, anyway. So I've gotta run.

Those propositions, one, not to deny that sexual benefits may be due in such cases, a body set up to deal with industrial accidents may not be the best place. Two, that if such a body is to perform its role in sexual-harassment cases, its members should be open to the where there is a sale with a sexual responsibility as well as one with a legal responsibility, both may be judged. And, three, that the media, at whatever the circumstances, have a responsibility to see that both these sides are covered.

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PEOPLE

STATE OF GRACE

Bliss star Grace Jones has emerged from her life in the fast lane during the 1970s to sign ahead with New York City-based Simon & Schuster to publish her upcoming autobiography. The flamboyant Jamaican-born singer, whose authorship found out guilty of cocaine possession last year, is also working on a new album. *Said Jones, 40:* "I was depressed for two years watching my friends die from AIDS. Recently, I wrote up and said, 'What am I doing?'" *She added:* "I'm coming back in every way. I work hard now. I'm over my depression and I don't do drugs anymore."

Jones: "I'm back in every way"



Going strong

Legendary singer Frank Sinatra appeared at Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens last week—the only Canadian stop on his current world tour. And the 75-year-old crooner was in a characteristically house-rocked performance, sang old favorites as *Midnight in Moscow* in New York, New York, the singer expressed vigorous disdain for contemporary hits. Declared Sinatra, "Some of the stuff I hear today, oh boy, it's throw-up time." And at one point during his hour-long set, Sinatra raised his drink before an appreciative audience of 18,000 and made a toast to "Mr. Chevy and Mr. Regal."



Sinatra's toast to the old songs

THE COLLECTOR

Roaming through Canada's cultural and political debris for the past 25 years, author John Robert Colombo has assembled 4,000 witicisms, observations and verbal assaults for the fourth and latest edition of *The Dictionary of Canadian Quotations*. Colombo, 65, began collecting quotes for his own amusement during *Centennial Year*, and eventually realized that he had enough material for a book. He published his first collection in 1974. *Said Colombo:* "I see myself as bringing little-known things into the mainstream." One of Colombo's favorite quotes is from Margaret Thatcher, who often referred to left-wingers as "wet." *Said Thatcher:* "Like General Black because he is the only person I've met who smokes and feels positively wet."

ROCK 'N' ROLL MARATHON

For 19 hours last week, pop star Richard Marx appeared to be the hardest-working man in show business. To promote his new album, *Rush Street*, Marx was loaded a rock 'n' roll blitz on five cities, in a day and a half, he performed live concerts in Burlington, New York City, Cleveland, Los Angeles and in a high school in his home town. *Said the Chicago-born singer, who called the tour his own Super Bowl:* "It's not just a guy who makes tricks in the studios and does videos. I'm a live, breathing performer."

A blue-collar queen

Canadian actress Kaye Leligan is known for her elegant performances on stage and screen. But in the new film *Peaches & Cream*, she breaks with tradition to play what she describes as a "low-rent redneck from the Bronx." *Said Leligan, 40:* "Doing people simply don't think of me when a role comes up for a working-class person." *She added:* "They immediately say, 'You can't act her. She plays regal ladies, Queens. Noble mothers.'" But she classically trained actress is delighted critics with her raucous performance as Cora, a tough groupie-spoor waitress with tattoos. Indeed, in the recently released film, Leligan's character even has a one-night stand with a short-order cook, played by Al Pacino. *The London, Ont.-born actress says that she was nervous about shooting the scene, and joked about it with her costar:* *Revealed Leligan:* "I kept reminding Al how much I was getting paid for doing this, and how much more he was being paid, and how he had more clothes on than I did."

Leligan: a raucous performance for a lady



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A special spirit

Jack Shadbolt combines intellect and passion

The people in the lineup moved slowly towards the elderly man seated at a table at Calgary's Glenbow Museum. Surrounded by 100 works collected for the first retrospective of his career since 1989, Vancouver artist Jack Shadbolt, 83, cheerfully signed exhibition posters and photographs. As art student Todd Shadbolt told the line: "She used his 1997 collage of 40 brightly colored butterflies entitled *Monarch in Vladimir* it's a tribute to author Vladimir Nabokov. 'They are so odd lot,' he told her as he scribbled her name across the poster, a detail of his 1978 landscape *Wild Grass State*. 'I used lots of pictures from a hand-drawn magazine I knew talked because my mother was a dreamer and used me as a character.' After more than six decades as an artist and educational teacher, the dreamer's son is now a retired senior statesman of domestic art. Said the retrospective's curator, Patricia Amble, the Glenbow's curator of art: "He is central to western Canadian art and was of major significance not only in the 1950s and 1960s to Canadian art."

The Calgary show, called *Convergences*, Jack Shadbolt made clear that its subject is an artist of both intellect and passion, a restless creator who has mastered a wide variety of styles. The retrospective will mean over view in Calgary until Jan. 5 before it travels next summer to Vancouver, and then on to the Art Gallery of Windsor in Ontario and the National Gallery in Ottawa. The show traces Shadbolt's evolution from a naive, sentimental style including social realism, naturalism and abstractionism. Along the way, he found inspiration in such artists as Emily Carr, Edward Munch, Pablo Picasso and Diego Rivera. Yet the retrospective also demonstrates that early on, Shadbolt forged

his own aesthetic—a vibrant, sensual and urgent approach to his subject matter, which has often included native mythology, and nature and its destruction. Said for art in an interview with *Maclean's*: "You don't just copy other artists—you move alongside to see if



Detail from 1970's *Night Pears* (Fetish Series #12) suggests approach

what they do contribute to your own resources." Shadbolt's rise to prominence—and financial success—was slow. "I sold six pictures for many years," he said in an address to mark the Glenbow retrospective opening on Nov. 2. "Then in the 1960s, I got a Canada Council

grant. Then another. One award leads to another. I got the Order of Canada. Gradually, I became known as one of those western individuals who created." Now, a commercial Shadbolt exhibition sells collectors to a throng. Last February at Vancouver's Bessie Bell Gallery, buyers began lining up more than 34 hours in advance for a show of recent works by the artist. Within 15 minutes, 23 of the 48 paintings were sold. A small Shadbolt work sells for about \$6,000, while his larger paintings command between \$30,000 and \$50,000.

Shadbolt recalls that as a boy, he placed a career in commercial art. Born in Essex, England, in 1908, Jack Leonard Shadbolt was the second of five children born to a sign painter and superluxe. Edward Shadbolt and his wife, Alice, Jack was 3 when his parents moved to British Columbia, where they eventually settled in Victoria. In his late teens, he committed himself to fine art and to teaching.

Over the years, Shadbolt taught art in a number of high schools, moving in 1938 to the Vancouver School of Art, where he worked off and on for 28 years, becoming a valued and influential instructor. He also travelled, working and studying in Toronto, New York City and Europe. During the second World War, Shadbolt served in London as an administrative officer for the Official Canadian Army War Artists Programme. One of his duties was to file and catalogue photographs that advancing Allied soldiers had taken of the Buchenwald and Belzec concentration camps. The war was a defining lesson in human brutality, inspiring much Shadbolt work as *Dig Above the Atom Bomb* (1947) and *Red Wings* (1948). But Shadbolt says that it also helped him to understand abstract art. "A bomb hits a building, blows it up and then, in moments, the pieces fall back together to form an image of what it once was," he said. "It is disconcerting and meaningful."

In 1945, Shadbolt returned to Vancouver to work and teach. That year he married Ottawa resident Berna Marshall, who went on to become an influential critic and art collector (they have no children). Back in Canada, Shadbolt refound his artistic vision, cultivating the West Coast influences that ran throughout his work. Many of his drawings and paintings echo the work of Carr, who had the young Shadbolt at afternoon tea in the 1930s. *The Winter Burns* (1950) is a moody Carr-like evocation of a male house and Shadbolt pays explicit tribute to his mentor as



Darkening Possibilities (1988); 1950's *The Winter Burns* (below): a restless creator who has mastered a wide variety of styles

the 1968 charcoal work *Sheddy Says* (*Hommage to Emily Carr*), a brooding landscape. Shadbolt's mature work draws ties to be a queerestly West Coast painter, immersed in the land and native mythologies of British Columbia. Said Xue Huang, owner of the Bessie Bell gallery in Vancouver and Toronto, which have represented Shadbolt for two decades: "He made his choice long ago to live and interpret things from a western Canadian perspective. He is at touch with the special spirit of the West Coast." But the artist also infuses his works with a more universal, psychological resonance, as in *Night Pears* (*Fetish Series* #12), a 1974 painting incorporating Freudian imagery, and in the surrealist *Darkening Possibilities* (1988).

Huang adds that Shadbolt's failure to generate the international market is not a major concern for the artist. "He could love, but he isn't what interests him," said the Bessie Bell owner. "Instead, he is extremely interested in art and his own community." Indeed, in 1968, Shadbolt and his wife set up the Vancouver Institute for the Visual Arts, a foundation that offers financial support to young artists.

Huang says that Shadbolt is in profile as an artist. The artist's current status works will be exhibited next February at Vancouver and Toronto and, next May, "They will be abstract and full of energy. He is still pushing."

Throughout his career, Shadbolt has grappled with, in his words, "recalling nature with abstraction, and delinquency with realism." He art blends much of his power from that duality—its appeal to both heart and mind. And Shadbolt continues to address those issues with an anxious consciousness. "In growing older," says the artist in the retrospective catalogue, "it is simply that the problem becomes less how to paint than what to paint, to become concerned with a statement of artistic response in the complexity of life." In his art, Jack Shadbolt makes that complexity both pleasurable and provocative.

JOHN BOWSE in Calgary



'Cut out his liver'

A psychopath draws out a family's corruption

CAPE FEAR

Directed by Martin Scorsese

Robert De Niro is arguably America's best screen actor. Martin Scorsese is arguably its best director. And they are much of their success to each other. Under Scorsese's direction, De Niro has explored the jagged extremes of the male psyche with unflinching intensity. Most often, he portrays tortured, deluded, ambitious, men from Travis Bickle, the lonely assassin in *Taxi Driver* (1976), to Rupert Pupkin, the craggy comedian in *The King of Comedy* (1983). In last year's *Goodfellas*, De Niro played a gangster gone as a Mafia soldier. But in *Cape Fear*, his seventh collaboration with Scorsese, the actor channels his intensity into the most flamboyant role of his career—as a psychopath on a mission of vengeance. The movie was produced by producer Steven Spielberg. It is also Scorsese's first suspense thriller. Gladly straying from naturalism, he pays homage to a Hollywood tradition of gothic melodrama. At the same time, he accompanies the seeped-up action of a contemporary thriller.

Like *Cape Fear* is by no means a school Scorsese understands conventional formula with his unique blend of moral ambiguity and environmental Calvinism. Set in a quiet suburb in the South, *Cape Fear* is the story of a family stalked by a vicious predator. After serving a 14-year sentence for violently raping a teenage girl, Max Cady (De Niro) tracks down Sam Bowden (Nick Nolte), the lawyer who failed to keep him out of jail during Cady's prison term. Cady barges his back and leered to confess, "First I got to the law," he says, "then I go back." In jail, Cady also learned that Bowden concealed a

report that the rape victim had a history of promiscuity—evidence that could have affected the verdict.

Cady leaves a trail of Bowden's house, living at his wife, Leigh (Jessica Lange), and cowardly courting his 15-year-old daughter, Danielle (Gale Sonderberg). He totally poisons their dog. He seduces and assaults a court-house clerk who has been flirting with Bowden on the municipal court. And as Bowden tries to retaliate, he becomes more deeply entrenched in the predator's trap. Sinking to



De Niro (left), Lange, Nolte: a riveting exploration of terror

Cady's level, Bowden faces Claude Karatek (Joe Don Baker), an unscrupulous private detective who swells cocktails of Jan. Breen and Peppercorn and considers solutions of retaliation too excessive. "The only excuse thing," Karatek says, "is to get lost and cut out his liver."

Scorsese has thrown some perverse twists into the new *Cape Fear*. The original movie was a straightforward thriller about a virtuous layman (Puck) trying to protect his happy family from an evil intruder (Mitchell). In the remake, Bowden's marriage is in disarray. His

wife is frustrated by his infidelity, and he is racked by guilt. Bowden is also deeply distressed by his daughter's emerging sexuality. Cady appears on the scene like an invading angel—forcing the family's tensions to the surface. In the original movie, he dropped like a demon out of the blue. In the new film, he incarnates a malignancy within the family itself.

Scorsese injects an element of complexity into the story. Leigh plays Bowden as a sultry adolescent swinging between innocence and lustiness. Ironically, Cady eventually tells her about his web. Leigh Bowden, meanwhile, is both fascinated and repulsed by Cady—as if he represents a mirror force of masculinity. As one character observes, "The South has a fine tradition of knowing fear."

Nolte and Lange are brilliant, especially in an early scene when they act out a ferocious domestic fight. But as the plot unfolds, De Niro dominates. More charismatic than Nolte's dissembling hero, his villain possesses a self-regarding righteousness of Dr. Rancid Lecter, the cannibalistic killer in last spring's *The Silence of the Lambs*.

De Niro has also undergone another of his astonishing physical transformations. The actor, who gained 55 in star *Angie* Hall, is a mass of iron-pumped muscle in *Cape Fear*. And his torso is covered with tattoos bearing biblical messages of vengeance. Cady is a fundamentalist. Tennessee flanked by a religious sense of mission and an arsenal of literary references. He quotes Friedrich Nietzsche, Henry Miller and Thomas Wolfe. It is hard to say what is more odd—his knowledge or his ignorance.

There is a campy edge to De Niro's performance, especially in the drawn-out violence of the climax, where he becomes a parody of the indestructible villain Scorsese, meanwhile, revels in the style of the vintage thriller. He employs a staccato version of the original movie's rattling sound track. And he casts three of his stars, Mitchell, Puck and Martin Balsam, in comic cameo.

For all its cinematic gonzo-madness, however, the movie remains a riveting exploration of terror. By making the women potentially implicated in Max's sexual violence, the director is on unexcusable ground. But he navigates it well, drawing an exposed line between the psychotic violence of the predator and the latent violence within the family. Scorsese has paid out of his way to craft an enthralling thriller. But like *Cape Fear*'s original, the remake, the strange darkness that only art can generate keeps rising to the surface.

BREAN D. JOHNSON



ALTER EGO



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Air bags, Hugo Mellander believes, are giving people a false sense of security.

Mellander is head safety engineer for Volvo in Sweden.

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How will a car react the other 64% of the time? In side impacts (20% of all accidents)? In rear end collisions (17%)? Rollovers (12%)? Multiple impacts (17%)?

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"The increased focus on safety by the car industry and the public pleases us," says Mellander.

"Now that people have their eyes open to the importance of safety," he adds, "they should understand the differences between how car companies approach safety."

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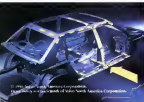
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Michael Clemens photo by David

BOOKS

Tuning in to America

A gifted author indulges his love of radio

WLT: A RADIO ROMANCE
By Garrison Keillor
(Farrar, 401 pages, \$27.95)

There is something almost uncanny about the way that Garrison Keillor can take normal, mid-of-the-road people and turn them into wise and humane characters. He has done it in his four books, including the best-selling *Lake Wobegon Days* (1983), set in fictional Lake Wobegon, Minn. — "the town," as Keillor describes it, "that time forgot and that the decades cannot improve." And for 12 years ending in 1987, he brought Lake Wobegon's colorful residents to

Soderberg, a co-owner of WLT. The letters stand for "Wish Listens and Tunes," a reference to the grumpy spouse that served as the station's stable in its early days. Soderberg enforces a strict code of conduct that he solemnly refers to as "The Principles of Radio-tism," the chief dictum of which is "Keep the listeners out of the station." Still, he works hard at luring young radio employees to his private suite in the WLT penthouse, and his favorite pastime is "bed dancing," as he describes extemporaneous sex.

But although he has in his new book created characters who are more picaresque than realistic, Keillor has kept intact the folksy, down-home flavor of his earlier works. WLT's child stars light up cigarettes and start cursing one another as soon as they turn off their microphones. But, applauded by the old American pilots of such novels as *Friendship Neighbor and Hope for Tomorrow*, the young stars' lives are in WLT as vivid reflections of their most cherished values—including, writes Keillor, "the superiority of Minnesota cheese and butter, the beauty of her lakes and rivers, the belief in democracy." Indeed, Keillor seems to be deliberately playing to the monotone, drawl-like quality that pervaded his earlier works. In WLT he portrays an America where parody and corruption, hope and disappointment, coexistably coexist.

That is clearest in his depiction of the novel's most duplicitous character, radio itself. Once promising what Keillor solemnly refers to as "the hope for a better future," it lures mostly women to the people who work at WLT. With TV luring away their fickle fans, most of the station's fictional story must ultimately come to terms with obscurity and underemployment. Preceding his own career near the story's end, Soderberg finds self-loathing at how his mind-numbing programs have hurtled millions to "monotone and cornballs and all-around overkill." Rejoicing with the bitter and the sweet, war shows an author more tuned in than ever to America's complex



Keillor: keeping strict a folksy, down-home tone

as many as four million U.S. and Canadian listeners with his American public radio programs. A *Prayer House Companion*, Now, the 49-year-old author, who grew up in tiny Kaska, 40 km north of Minneapolis, has continued his luck by capturing Middle America with his evident love of broadcasting. In WLT, *A Radio Romance*, the irresistible story of a fictional Minneapolis radio station in the modern's golden age, Keillor once again shows that he is a gifted author on a frequency all his own.

Keillor has filled his new novel, which unfolds between 1926 and 1951, with characters who are, on the whole, less upstanding than the residents of Lake Wobegon. Typo: in Rex

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VICTOR DOWIE

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FILMS

Diplomacy in the dark

A Canadian envoy gets caught up in a civil war

DIPLOMACY IN THE DARK
Directed by Sturla Gunnarsson

Hollywood has made a number of liberal movies set in war-torn Latin American countries. And they tend to focus on U.S. heroes crossing against dictatorship. Now, Toronto-based filmmaker Sturla Gunnarsson provides a fresh angle. *Diplomacy in the Dark* is about a female Canadian envoy who gets caught in the cross fire of civil war in El Salvador. The drama is serious, but the film offers a perceptive critique of Canada's foreign aid policies. And it is compellingly directed by Gunnarsson, a documentary ace making his first dramatic foray. Vividly shot and bristling period, *Diplomacy in the Dark* was filmed in Mexico for just \$3.3 million. But it portrays El Salvador with an authenticity and energy that no Hollywood budget can buy.

Ram (Oletha Oduduwa) is an Ottawa diplomat who arrives in the country to smooth the way for a visit by the minister of external affairs. In her honor, she discovers that the housing compound leased by her government is being used as a brothel for the Salvadoran military. In desperation, she tries to cut a deal with a Salvadoran activist, Sara (Oletha Oduduwa), to turn 300 peasants from a shantytown into the compound.

Ram gets involved against the advice of the local Canadian official, a drunk named Jack (Michael Haigney, who says that the best way to help the people is "to do nothing"). Meanwhile, Oletha Oduduwa, an American collaborating with the Salvadoran military, impatiently tells her, "You [Canadians] spend your lives hiding behind our shorts, and when it suits your purpose, you put your heads out and criticize." Ram's attempt to marry goodwill with expediency results in a triumph marred by tragedy.

Her weakness as a central character, however, blunts the movie's impact. Oduduwa acts out the repressed indignation of a career diplomat too inefficiently. And the script is weighed down by political exposition. But as an occasional performance by Oduduwa, a major star in Mexico, draws home the passion of the Salvadoran resistance, *Diplomacy in the Dark* has the energy and intelligence of concerted filmmaking.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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AIR TRAVEL.



Schoolchildren in Boston faced school integration alienated poor whites

BOOKS

Race and politics

How Republicans control the political agenda

CHAIN REACTION: THE IMPACT OF RACE, RIGHTS AND TAKES ON AMERICAN POLITICS
by Thomas E. B. Edwards and Mary Edalati
(Farrar, 339 pages, \$32.95)

In a Louisiana, Republican David Duke, broke from fellow whites who like Klan Klan members in the 1960s, succeeded in keeping an enormous groundswell of white discontent in that state's race for governor. In New York, anticipating Gov. Mario Cuomo's entry into next year's presidential campaign, Republicans plan a television commercial featuring a perky black child, accused of new crimes—so all that they say will make the controversial neo-Nazi bill, used in George Bush's 1984 presidential campaign look tame by comparison. These two apparently disconnected events could be seen as politics as usual in the United States—and reading Thomas and Mary Edalati's *Chain Reaction*, in their entirety if somewhat ponderously written study, Thomas Edalati, Thomas Edalati, their co-author, and Mary Edalati, their co-author, find that the ways in which race has become the most explosive issue in U.S. life—a wedge that has torn the heart of the Democratic party, providing its self-destruction and effectively paralyzing the White House to Republicans for years to come.

For all its emboldenments, the *Book's* analysis in black is a political climate already ugly

with veiled and not-so-veiled appeals to racism, they predict that things can only get uglier. Why have the Democrats lost five of the past six presidential elections? The answer, in the Edalatis' point out, rests on a simpler story. At the party's—and perhaps the nation's—heart lies: when President Lyndon Johnson ended segregation with his landmark civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965, he shattered its moral federal programs that have increasingly elevated working-class whites, the party's traditional voter base.

While affirmative action measures attempted to make up for the historical mistreatment of blacks, the Democrats failed to offer any consolation to those who most directly bore the brunt of the enforced change: poor whites, many of them Irish and Italian immigrants in the industrial North, whose children's schools were forcibly segregated by housing—and who suddenly faced new competition on the job from newcomers.

For them, the federal government had become a threatening, intrusive force. Their anger drove poor whites into an unlikely alliance with another group that resented government interference, but for totally different reasons: the rich business class, with which poor whites formed the cornerstone of a caucus now Republican coalition.

For the white poor and middle class, the Democrats had become increasingly out of touch. As a result of the party's internal re-

form, a new, markedly liberal wing had taken over, controlling the selection process for presidential candidates. Highly educated and affluent, most of its members had deeply philosophical brains with the consequences of their party's programs. Their high-minded myopia opened the way for Ronald Reagan to sweep into office railing against the Government, "welfare queens" and "kiss-ass liberals."

In fact, the Edalatis argue that it was not the issue of race alone that changed the complexion of American politics, but a conjunction of policies and circumstances that set off a chain reaction of events on which the Republicans have capitalized. Drawing on the anger of working-class whites who saw minorities getting most of the benefits from their rising tax burden, Republican strategists widened the debate. They followed a positive politics of resentment that attacked high taxes and so-called progressive values—a code for the welfare state.

For this year's field of Democratic presidential contenders, Chase Auerbach will undoubtedly be required—but depressing—reading. It points Democrats as well-meaning but out-of-touch members who, lacking a strategy, have essentially blundered into every tactical trap the Republicans set for them. Even a charismatic candidate could not save them. The book predicts that race will continue to be the trap wire that spins an increasingly distasteful series of politics. But Chase Auerbach's major flaw is that it offers no solutions for dealing with an issue and a political climate that are driving more and more Americans away from the ballot box.

MARCI MACDONALD

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Number 6*, William S. Burroughs (3)
- 2 *The Golem of New York*, Dennis Lehane (3)
- 3 *Wilderness Time*, Michael Ondaatje (4)
- 4 *Midnight Things*, Peter Dinklage (5)
- 5 *Secrets*, Philip Roth (6)
- 6 *Sea Change*, Barbara Kingsolver (7)
- 7 *Johnny Is Dead*, Elmore Leonard (8)
- 8 *Night on Mars*, John Le Carré (9)
- 9 *John*, Peter Dinklage (10)
- 10 *Time's Arrow*, Neil Gaiman (11)

NONFICTION

- 1 *The Betrayal of Canada*, Martin (10)
- 2 *Final Day*, Humphrey (11)
- 3 *Marching Forward*, Newman (12)
- 4 *Mar. 1969: My Life*, Johnson (13)
- 5 *The Bookends of Time*, Vint (14)
- 6 *Classroom*, Ondaatje (15)
- 7 *People of the Forest*, John and Pauline (16)
- 8 *Working*, Scully (17)
- 9 *The Max Ward Story*, Ward (18)
- 10 *The Quack and the Duck*, McChesney (19)

(1) *Prisoners of War*

Compiled by Brian Roberts



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